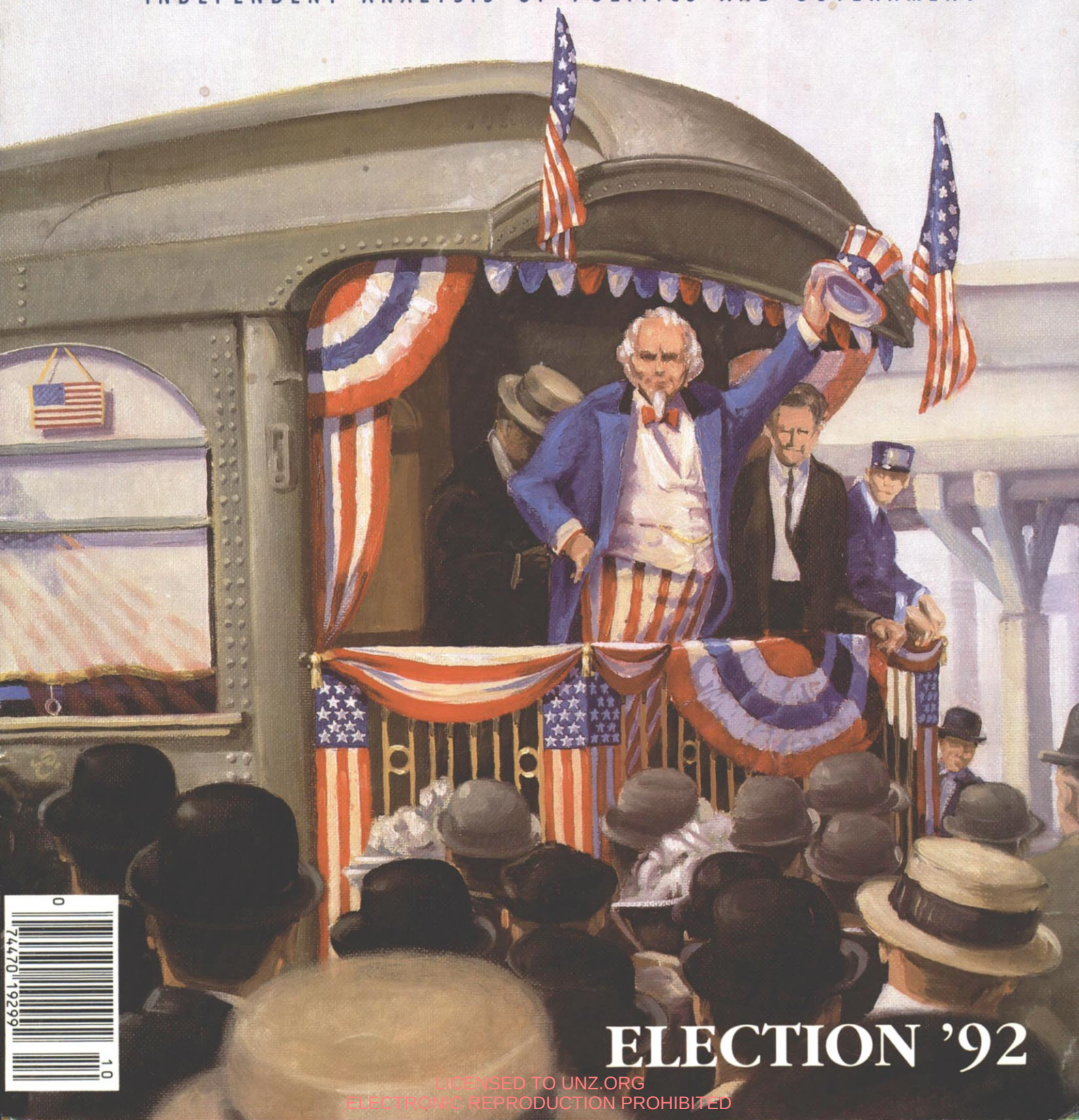
District-by-district analysis

OCTOBER 1992 $3.50

California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT



ELECTION '92

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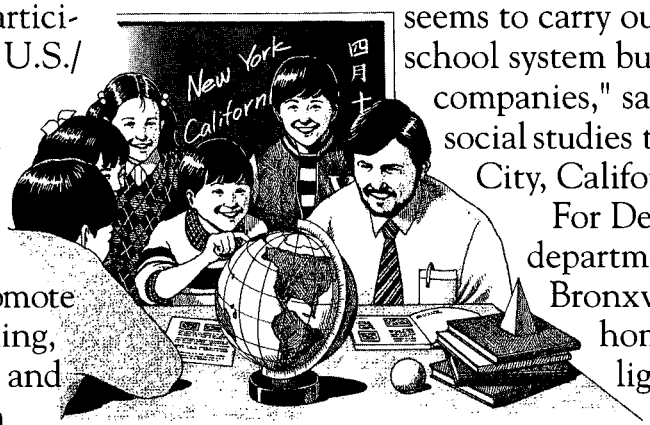
Japan and America: Where the Twain Meet

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," Kipling wrote long ago, and even today that saying sums up the feelings of many Americans and Japanese toward each other. But William Brinker, a high school social studies teacher from Farmington Hills, Michigan, disagrees. "The gulf between our cultures exists, but it can be bridged. We just have to work harder at understanding one another."

Brinker was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its fourth year, this exchange helps promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between our societies on a personal level.



Since 1987, the program has sponsored the visits of 16 American teachers to Japan and five Japanese to the United States. Last year saw the largest exchange so far: four American and three Japanese teachers. For three weeks, they toured the sites, taught children, and lived in the homes of their hosts. For most, it was their first direct exposure to the culture they had so often taught about. Even for Brinker, who had spent time in Japan 36 years ago as a serviceman, the experience was eye-opening. "I came away with a much better understanding of the Japanese people," he says.

As teachers, the American visitors were struck by the way Japanese parents support the school system and the respect students show in the classroom. "The support and love of the family seems to carry out not only in the school system but also into their companies," says Greg Alvarado, a social studies teacher from Daly City, California.

For Delia Grogan-Selby, a department chairperson from Bronxville, New York, the home stay was a highlight of her visit. "I felt like I had parachuted into my own family, but it was Japan," she says.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program. We believe its positive impact will multiply as returning teachers share their personal experiences with students, colleagues, and friends at home.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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OCTOBER 1992
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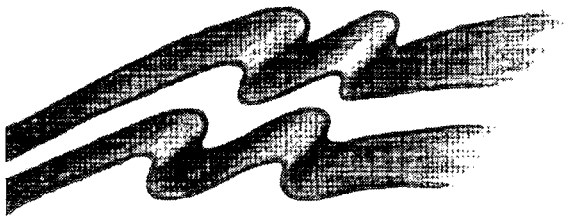

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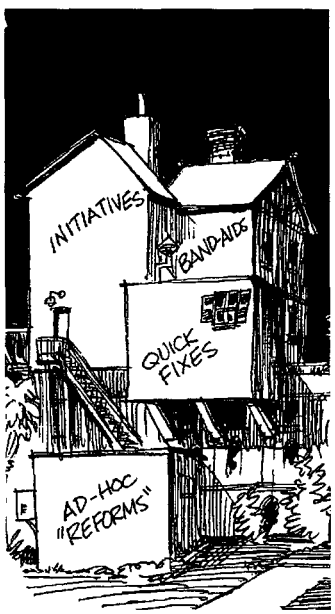

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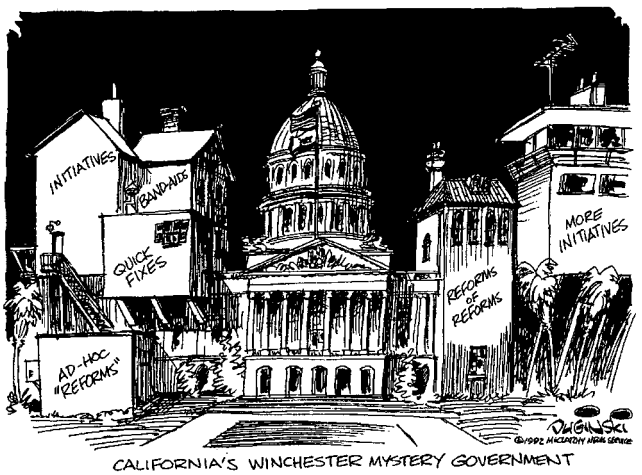
UP FRONT



CALIFORNIA'S WINCHESTER MYSTERY GOVERNMENT
illustration by Paul Duginski

Dan Lungren wants you to know which candidates are tough on law and order. After all, Lungren is California attorney general, and he's tired of all those law-enforcement unions endorsing all those soft-on-crime, bleeding heart liberals who get into office and then support the right of police officers to strike. Lungren also is worried that crime as an election issue has taken a backseat to the faltering economy. Well, Dan Lungren wants you to focus on crime, and he doesn't want you to be fooled anymore by those oh-so-slick unions. So, he's sending out a guide to remind voters that California is facing a crime crisis, and to help them distinguish AG-approved candidates from those who would let criminals roam freely about the streets. Okay, you're a candidate. How do you get your name on Lungren's guide? Personally arrest a drive-by shooter? Tackle a bank robber? Advocate public hangings? Well, all that might help. But what you really need is money. Bucks. Campaign swag. If you're an Assembly candidate, it'll cost you $3500. Senate and congressional candidates must pay up $4500. The money will help defray the cost of sending out the guide, Lungren's office insisted. They call it a voter guide. We have another name for it: slate mailer.

Early Bird department: Yes, we know, you haven't had a chance to vote for the seven initiatives on the November 1992 ballot. But we thought you'd like to know that the June 1994 ballot already is shaping up nicely, thank you very much. Secretary of State March Fong Eu announced recently that the first initiative for that distant election already has qualified. "Education, parental choice" is a constitutional amendment sponsored by Joseph Albriani of Los Angeles, and if it passes, the state would provide $2600 vouchers for kids in kindegarten through high school. The vouchers could be applied toward private, public or religious schools. The initiative had been in circulation since early this year, with the goal of reaching the November 1992 ballot. With that in mind, its sponsors turned in signatures last May. But during the signature-verification process, a random sample showed that not enough *valid* John Hancocks had been turned in. Some of its sponsors accused the California Teachers Association of sabotaging the signature effort by having its members sign petitions in the wrong county, thus disqualifying them. The CTA, which opposes vouchers, denied any wrong-doing. In the end, it didn't matter. A full verification check of the measure's petitions indicated that sponsors had, in fact, turned in slightly more than the required 615,958 valid signatures. Sponsors had turned in 928,048 signatures, 639,408 of which turned out to be valid. By the time the full check was completed, however, the deadline had passed for getting the school voucher initiative on the November 1992 ballot. Thus, it must wait for 1994. Well, it's nice to be able to anticipate a brawl.

Irony of the month: As everyone this side of Mars knows by now, the Bush administration has been beating the "family values" issue into a shapeless mass of goo during this election season. Vice President Dan Quayle, especially, has been having a jolly old time bashing the entertainment industry over the values he says it doesn't honor in its programming. And as everyone also knows, the symbolic capital of the entertainment industry is right here in California — Hollywood, to be exact: So, comes now a co-chairwoman and coordinator of a Bush\Quayle rally in Pasadena. Her name? You got it. Holly Wood.

Meanwhile, Senate Democrats put the season premiere of "Murphy Brown" to good use — they held a fund raiser. "Murphy Brown" is the Candice Bergen sit-com that this spring featured a newswoman having a baby out of wedlock. The veep singled out the show as an example of Hollywood's lack of family values, thus touching off the "values" controversy and inspiring more one-liners than a Henny Youngman revival. When scriptwriters for the show penned an opening episode that prominently featured Dan Quayle, Senate Democrats couldn't resist. They invited a gaggle of the faithful (at $25 bucks a head) to watch the fun at the Sacramento offices of campaign consultant Richie Ross on September 21st.

"Some things are worth fighting for ... We must fight ... the profiteers and the privileged class. Our primary concern is for the little fellow. We think the big boys have always done very well taking care of themselves. It is the business of government to see that the little fellow gets a square deal."
— Harry Truman, September 1948

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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ROSTRUM

League of Women Voters

Your analysis of the November propositions (see "Ballot Book," *CJ*, September 1992) fails to list the League of Women Voters as signing the ballot argument against Proposition 165. We oppose it because it would give the governor unprecedented and unilateral power over nearly every aspect of state government.

ROBYN PRUD'HOMME-BAUER
President
League of Women Voters

Hunter-Dhillon primary

Your analysis of the 80th District GOP primary (see *CJ*, July 1992) reported that one of my campaign mailers distorted Tricia Hunter's ranking in a *California Journal* survey. None of my mailers said this; rather, those comments appeared in an independent mailer issued by an independent political organization. My campaign had no input or control over the mailer, and I was advised of it less than 24 hours before it was mailed.

DAVID DHILLON
El Centro

Gray Davis

Republican Senator Bill Leonard showed an astonishing lack of knowledge in criticizing my payment of state workers during the budget impasse (see "Blundering toward a budget," *CJ*, September 1992). His suggestion that withholding paychecks would have facilitated a budget agreement ignores history, legal precedent and potentially grave fiscal consequences. During the 1991 impasse, CalTrans workers, whose paychecks were late, sued the governor and won back wages, plus interest penalties. A federal court concluded that employees who work in good faith are required to be paid under the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, regardless of whether the state has a budget. Legal counsel for my office concluded that not paying the salaries to all state workers would result in a lawsuit which the state could be fined up to $690 million for each month of non-payment.

GRAY DAVIS
State Controller

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Will George Bush write off California?

By Danielle Starkey

★★★★

Some of the oddities of the 1992 presidential election are by now almost distant memories, such as the challenges of Jerry Brown (with his 1-800 number strategy that's sure to be copied) and Pat Buchanan, with his early primary win. But surely, those oddities pale compared with the widely-accepted notion that a Republican president of the United States, embroiled in a tough re-election campaign, may have written off the largest state in the union, kissed off its huge cache of electoral votes.

In past elections, California, with its 47 electoral votes (out of 270 needed to win), was accustomed to being an important battleground state. But this year, although the state's share has been boosted to 54 electoral votes thanks to reapportionment, the critical action may shift elsewhere. Why? Because Republican George Bush trails Democrat Bill Clinton by as many as 20 points statewide, and most observers agree there is no way for Bush to recoup. The California economy, with its lingering recession, probably sank Bush's chances in the Golden State long ago. The recession has been felt most acutely in what had been Reagan Country, and among traditionally conservative voters in Southern California. As a result, they have been defecting *en masse* from the Republican candidate for the first time since the Great Depression. With this in mind, Republicans will focus during the home-stretch weeks of October on the industrial Midwest, with its undecided voters, and on the South, which George Bush must win to make up for his projected losses elsewhere.

Waiting in the wings with a monkey wrench is Ross Perot, who has qualified to be on the ballots in all 50 states

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Illustrations by Patty Lyn Tweten

but who has yet to declare his candidacy. Perot announced on July 16th that he would *not* be a candidate; since then he's spent hundreds of thousands of dollars getting signatures to place himself on ballots, and on advertising, direct mail, office space and staff.

Polls taken in the middle of September showed that a three-candidate race would hurt Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton slightly more than President Bush. But other polls — which, granted, are one-moment mirrors of time — show that enthusiasm for the renegade billionaire has waned significantly since early June, when he was more popular than either Republican Bush or Democrat Clinton.

Perot isn't the only man about whom people are asking "will he or won't he." Clinton, who only recently ascended to the national stage, is enjoying significant margins of popularity over incumbent Bush. And while polls show he has gained the confidence of more voters than he had last spring, Republicans are hoping that he still could stumble over issues of character and credibility, and that their own fortunes will reverse. The most recent bait they've dangled before voters was to consider whether Clinton did ask for help from people with influence to avoid the draft, or whether he didn't, as he has repeatedly claimed.

Bush's own problems are perhaps more serious, and nowhere is this more evident than in Orange County, that most solid of Republican strongholds. Fact is, it's not so solid for the Republican presidential candidate anymore, not by a long-shot. If the vote were taken there today, it could go either way. *Either way,* in a county where a Democrat has not won the presidential vote since 1936, where Republicans outnumber Democrats five-to-three, and where more than

★★★★

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80 percent of George Bush's 1988 *statewide* margin of victory was produced. The same goes for San Diego and the Silicon Valley, other Republican neighborhoods.

"We've seen the Republican Party go from a big tent to an umbrella to a parasol to a Dixie cup," Bob Nelson, a lifelong GOP volunteer of Monarch Beach in Orange County, told *The San Jose Mercury News*. "It's becoming the white male Christian party. I happen to be all those things, but I don't want to be in that party."

Republicans typically depend on winning big in places like Orange County to offset Democratic majorities in other parts of the state. This year, California even has a Republican governor who allegedly could help the president's campaign. But Governor Pete Wilson, in the aftermath of the longest and most contentious budget battle in state history, is not in a particularly good position to be lending assistance to Bush. As a result, California looks so bleak to Republicans it appears that Bush has chalked it off his calendar. And as goes Bush, so goes Clinton. (For example on Labor Day, traditionally considered the start of the fall campaign, Bush was in Michigan and Clinton was in Missouri. In 1984, by contrast, Ronald Reagan was in Cupertino while Walter Mondale was in Long Beach. In 1988 Bush was in Disneyland.)

Neither candidate can afford to be open about this strategy of abandoning California, of course. And there probably will be a few "time-punching" visits by Vice President Dan Quayle and vice-presidential candidate Al Gore, according to pollster Mervin Field. Republican spin-doctors say they can't afford to concede such an important arena. "We obviously have a big way to go and we have to do everything right, and Clinton has to make some mistakes, all of which I believe is possible," Steve Merksamer, who was Bush's 1988 California campaign strategist, told *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

But the truth is, an announcement like that would be a lead weight in the campaigns of Republican Assembly and Senate candidates. But more important, it would signal to the Clinton campaign not to spend too much money here, and to compete with Bush in other states.

Bush has two choices. He can try to convince voters, who are concerned overwhelmingly about jobs and the economy, that he has the right answers in terms of economic proposals to set the country back on track. Or, he can rely on the time-tested technique of scaring them to death about his opponent, who is, after all, untested in the White House.

The obstacles confronting Bush in either of these efforts are significant, and he got off to a bad start with his inadvertant reminder of his famous "Read my lips, no new taxes" pledge during the 1988 campaign. This year, he said he would not "ever, ever" support another tax increase, a remark that White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater clarified was *not* a repeat of his "no new taxes" promise.

Clinton, however, would do well to remember that in 1980, national polls showed that the race between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter was relatively close. But Reagan turned out to have a large electoral vote lead. And, Michael Dukakis was leading Bush by about 17 points in national polls taken at the time of the Democratic Convention. Remember who won?

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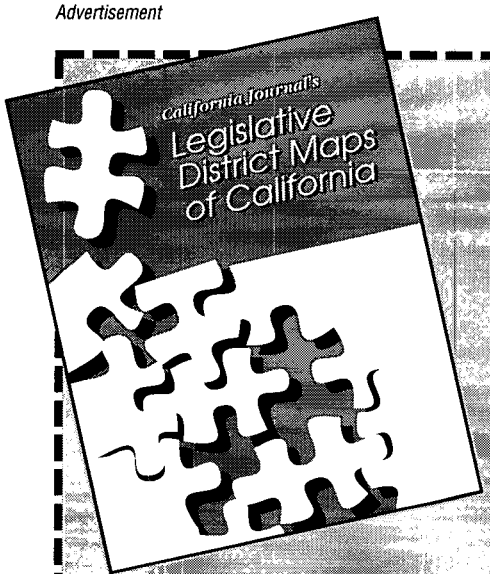

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Feinstein-Seymour

By A.G. Block

Illustrations by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

U.S. SENATE "A" (49% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco. Republican: Appointed incumbent John Seymour of Anaheim. American Independent: Paul Meeuwenberg of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Richard Bode of Huntington Beach. Peace and Freedom: Gerald Horne of Goleta.*

★★★★

In the parlance of 1992, this is the race for California's "short seat," so named because the winner serves only two years in office before having to run for a six-year term in 1994. Why? Because the man most recently elected to this seat — Pete Wilson — vacated it when he became governor in January 1991, and nearly four years were left in his term. By law, Wilson could appoint a successor, but that successor — in this case, John Seymour — could hold the seat only until the next statewide election. He then had to get himself elected to fill out the remainder of Wilson's term. The winner of that race then must run again in 1994 for the full six-year term. In his bid for election outright, Seymour faces Democrat Dianne Feinstein, the former mayor of San Francisco.

Seymour, of course, comes to this election courtesy of Pete Wilson, who plucked him from the relative obscurity of the state Senate in January 1991. Seymour's appointment was controversial from the start. Hard-core conservatives were annoyed that Wilson named a pro-choice moderate rather than one of their own. Other Republicans grumped that Seymour lacked political stature and might have trouble being elected in 1992. Indeed, Seymour's only statewide race, for the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor in 1990, ended in a debacle. Although he outspent his equally unknown opponent, fellow Orange County state Senator Marian Bergeson, Seymour bombed at the polls, losing 55 percent to 45 percent. Even his victory in a contested Republican primary this past June did little to enhance party confidence. Seymour polled just 51 percent against three weak opponents, the most serious of whom was Congressman William Dannemeyer, a conservative religious zealot

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John Seymour's uphill fight for the Senate

with little appeal beyond the party's right wing.

Since moving to Washington, Seymour, as an appointed GOP freshman in a Democrat-dominated Congress, has had trouble making much of an impact on a Senate that contains some of the country's political lions. In addition, a poll of Capitol Hill staffers taken this past summer by *Washingtonian* Magazine called the 53-year-old Seymour among the "dreariest" lawmakers. But Seymour hasn't been idle as a legislator, and his campaign will attempt to define him around his legislative record, the centerpiece of which is a plan to reduce military spending and convert defense-oriented jobs to civilian jobs. He will tout this program, as well as his environmental record and his attempt to dissuade the Republican National Convention from adopting a stringent anti-abortion plank in its national platform. It's a long road for Seymour, however, because after more than 18 months in the U.S. Senate, Seymour still is virtually unknown to most California voters.

His opponent, on the other hand, is one of the state's most recognized political figures — despite the fact that she has never been elected to any office outside of San Francisco. If it seems as though Dianne Feinstein has been campaigning statewide forever, it's because she has been running for one office or another for the past four years. And in political time, four years *is* forever. Two years ago, Feinstein came within an eyelash of winning the governorship, losing to Wilson by some 300,000 votes, or 3 percent. Three months later, and just days after Wilson appointed Seymour, she launched her bid for the U.S. Senate. So, she's been on the stump, nearly non-stop, since 1988 when her gubernatorial train first pulled out of the station. This past June, she performed better in a much tougher primary election than did Seymour; she captured 58 percent of the vote against three opponents, one of whom was state Controller Gray Davis, the Democrats' top statewide vote-getter in 1990.

Thus, all the indicators point to the fact that four years' of public exposure may finally pay off for Feinstein. With less than six weeks to go before election day, a *Los Angeles Times* poll found her 16 points ahead of her Republican opponent. The Field Poll put Feinstein even farther ahead: with only 6 percent undecided. The battle is clearly uphill for Seymour.

To overcome Feinstein's lead, which the Seymour campaign acknowledges but insists is soft, Seymour must make Feinstein herself the central issue. Despite her long tenure in the public eye, and her high name recognition, Feinstein's image remains murky, and there are nagging doubts about both her substance and her character. Feinstein is much better at photo ops than at press conferences; much better giving canned speeches than in speaking off-the-cuff or thinking on her feet. During her 1990 gubernatorial campaign, for instance, Feinstein could never truly articulate any vision for the state or any coherent reason why she wanted to be governor. Perhaps that is why Feinstein is pursuing what the Seymour campaign calls "a rose-garden strategy," a reference to Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign when the president remained in the White House rather than go out on the stump or debate his opponent — Democrat George McGovern. Feinstein, with little to gain and much to lose by appearing with the lesser-known Seymour on statewide television, has thus far declined to debate. But lack of vision has never been a fatal political handicap. Lack of ethics has, however, and Feinstein has a ethical time bomb ticking away in her hip pocket. Last spring,

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Feinstein was sued by the state Fair Political Practices Commission, which alleged that she misreported more than $8 million in contributions during her 1990 race for governor. Essentially, the FPPC maintained that Feinstein and her financier husband, Richard Blum, tried to hide the source of loans made to the Feinstein campaign at a time when Feinstein and Blum were under fire by then-gubernatorial primary opponent John Van de Kamp for trying to buy the election. At the time, Feinstein claimed she advanced the money to herself, but it later turned out that the money had been loaned by the Bank of America, with Blum as guarantor. Feinstein filed amended financial reports, but not until earlier this year. The case is not scheduled for trial until next spring, well after the election.

Seymour plans to blast away at Feinstein's problems with the FPPC, and the first shots across her bow were billboards placed within viewing distance of Feinstein headquarters in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento. The billboards read: "Dianne, 'No more double talk. Explain the $8 million.'"

Meanwhile, Seymour has a few problems of his own to overcome. Appointed or not, he's an incumbent member of Congress, and the public, polls show, is fed up with Congress. In addition, Seymour's national party ticket is in flames in California thanks to the state's lingering recession, and rumors persist that President George Bush is about to write off the state's 54 electoral votes. Thus, there may not be much in the way of national GOP resources pumped into California, resources that could trickle down to help Seymour. On the other hand, the less voters make the connection between Seymour and Bush, the better perhaps for Seymour, who may even profit from it by pointing out the critical areas where he and Bush disagree — namely, over abortion rights and the environment. Besides, Seymour forces insist, California never has been a coattail state. Then, there is the "gender" vote — the propensity of women to vote for women candidates, regardless of party. Although Feinstein and Seymour differ little on the key woman's issue — abortion — the gender factor can only hurt the Republican.

Finally, there is California's budget mess and the sinking fortunes of Seymour's benefactor — Pete Wilson. When Seymour was appointed to the U.S. Senate, some pundits insisted that his fate was tied to that of Wilson. If Wilson rode high in the polls come November 1992, Seymour could benefit. If Wilson neared low tide, however, Seymour could suffer. Unfortunately for Seymour, Wilson's popularity is at an all-time low for California governors, thanks to the 65-day delay in passing the 1992-93 budget and the painful program cuts compelled by the state's tumbling economy. If the pundits be correct, Wilson could prove a major millstone around Seymour's neck.

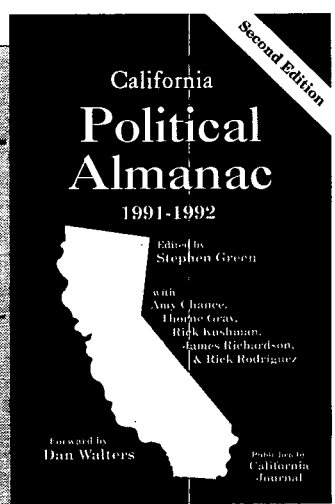
But Seymour's greatest challenges remain his ability to be heard and his success in luring the elusive Feinstein out of her rose garden. His campaign says that things will heat up in October, and that Seymour's efforts will slash into Feinstein's double-digit lead. But October will be a political Tower of Babel, with a hundred campaigns vying for the voters' attention. Seymour may not be heard above the din. If not, Feinstein's "rose garden" approach — and her four years of campaigning — will pay off in a trip to Congress.

Advertisement

Election 92's Vital Reference

"Tackles most of what a newcomer would want to know about political life in California ... By the end, a reader may not know the state by heart but he'll at least be able to sing along."

— *Governing* magazine



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Boxer-Herschensohn

By Richard Zeiger

U.S.SENATE "B" (49% D - 38% R) —
Democrat: Barbara Boxer of San Francisco. Republican: Bruce Herschensohn of Newport Beach. American Independent: Jerome McCready of Castroville. Libertarian: June Genis of Woodside. Peace and Freedom: Genevieve Torres of Los Angeles.

Okay, Californians. You've been complaining about all those "me, too" candidates. Well, now you've got a clear choice for at least one of the U.S. Senate seats, the six-year one which pits Los Angeles television commentator Bruce Herschensohn against Congresswoman Barbara Boxer of Marin County.

It would be hard to find two candidates who disagree more. Herschensohn is a staunch conservative: He wants to keep defense spending up, despite the end of the cold war; opposes abortion and thinks the states should be free to outlaw it; wants the size of government cut; and would eliminate the federal Department of Education and the Environmental Protection Agency. Boxer is out of the liberal wing of her party. She wants to slash defense spending, is firmly pro-choice on the abortion issue, and believes the federal government ought to increase its spending on some domestic programs. Each says the other is an extremist who is outside the mainstream of American political thought.

Oh, yes. Herschensohn is a male Republican and Boxer is a female Democrat.

And in these unsettled times, it is the last pair of contrasts that could account for the fact that Boxer is way ahead in public-opinion polls published in mid-September. The *Los Angeles Times* poll gave Boxer 52 percent of the vote to 33 percent for Herschensohn, with 15 percent undecided. Furthermore, Boxer's "favorable" rating with the electorate has climbed steadily since the spring. In April, 20 percent of the electorate viewed her favorably. By September, her favorable rating was at 39 percent. In contrast, Herschensohn's favorable rating has climbed only 6 percentage points in that time, while the percentage who have an "unfavorable" opinion of him grew from 11 percent to 27 percent. Those figures bode ill for Herschensohn, who has been struggling to get his message heard in a busy election season. Although the campaign denies it, there are reports that Herschensohn is having trouble raising money, a situation that could be made worse by the fact that Governor Pete Wilson, to the extent he will help Republican Senate candidates, will

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A left-right confrontation

Illustrations by Wendy Rudick Shaul

probably give most of his aid to the other Republican, John Seymour, who Wilson appointed to take his place in the Senate after Wilson was elected governor.

Resources and issues seemed so slight for Herschensohn that by the middle of September, the crux of his campaign message seemed to be that Boxer was not willing to engage in enough debates — a theme that might interest the press but is probably lost on voters. Indeed, he has said that he and Boxer should meet as often as weekly in debates.

At 59, Herschensohn started out as a filmmaker who made a documentary about President John Kennedy and then worked for the U.S. Information Agency. Later he worked as a domestic advisor for President Richard Nixon. But he is best known in Southern California for his years as a radio and television commentator where he frequently was paired with a liberal opponent in order to argue issues. As a result of those appearances, Herschensohn is well known in vote-rich Southern California. The disadvantage is that he is publicly on record with some very controversial positions, including his view that the country would be better off if the Social Security system were turned over to the private sector.

As a seasoned television performer, Herschensohn with some justification believes that he would get the better of joint debate appearances. Furthermore, it would be a source of free campaign publicity and might act as leveler for someone who badly needs to improve his standing in the polls.

If Herschensohn seems to be shy of resources, his potential should not be underestimated. In the June primary he was matched against Congressman Tom Campbell of Menlo Park, who on paper was the perfect California candidate: moderate on social issues but conservative on fiscal matters. His campaign was much better financed, but still he lost to Herschensohn, who captured the great majority of his votes from the Southern California television market area.

Boxer, meanwhile, is riding a tide that feels the country is seriously off track and needs a change. And women candidates this year appear to many voters to be the agents of that change "Maybe right now we've got a new form of

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gender Teflon," offered pollster Mervin Field in a *Los Angeles Times* interview.

Certainly Boxer's performance in the primary would indicate that was the case. She beat two men, and one — Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy — was much better known. The other, Congressman Mel Levine of Los Angeles, was much better financed.

But Boxer, 51, received early and enthusiastic support from women's groups, and she stumped the state tirelessly seeking support. She billed herself as an outsider, although she has been in Congress for 10 years. During those years she gained a substantial amount of publicity for attacking waste in the military. But contrary to her public image, she hobnobbed with the House leadership on a regular basis and worked closely with them on a number of projects.

One of her television commercials in the primary featured scenes of her and other congresswomen marching to the U.S. Senate to demand that they be allowed to participate in the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, images that reinforce the notion of the insider as outsider.

Because of the no-holds-barred ideological positions of the candidates, emotions can be expected to run high. Boxer has held a series of press conferences across the state with Republicans who are defecting because of Herschensohn's strong conservative views and because of the economic problems of the Bush administration.

At one appearance in Orange County, Herschensohn partisans got into fracas with the Boxer troops and disrupted the event to such an extend that Boxer cancelled a scheduled appearance. Each side blamed the other for the blowup, and Herschensohn later apologized for the events.

There is substantial evidence that much of Boxer's standing in the polls is the result of defections by Republican women upset by their party's position on abortion and other women's issues. In a *San Diego Union* poll taken in July, for example, men divided their votes almost equally between the two candidates. Women, however, favored Boxer by 19 percentage points. Furthermore, although Republicans overall favored Herschensohn 41 percent to 25 percent, among women Republicans, Herschensohn held only a 4 percentage point lead, 36 percent to 32 percent.

Herschensohn backers, of course, do not believe that trend will last through November. Herschensohn believes that the majority of Californians are conservative and that, with enough exposure to Boxer and her positions, they will turn to him on election day. He will hammer hard on Boxer's spending programs and proposed defense cuts, which the Herschensohn camp insists will "cost a million jobs" to implement. But beyond that is the notion that the voters may be more willing to trust a woman this year.

"Bruce thinks the gender question is very sexist, and that Californians will not vote for someone just because they are a woman. We think they will vote for the best candidate," said his press spokeswoman Sharon Tetrault.

The polls still have Herschenshon within striking distance, and it's a distance Tetrault says her candidate can cover.

But so far, at least, Californians are saying they want change, and for most of them, that means Boxer.

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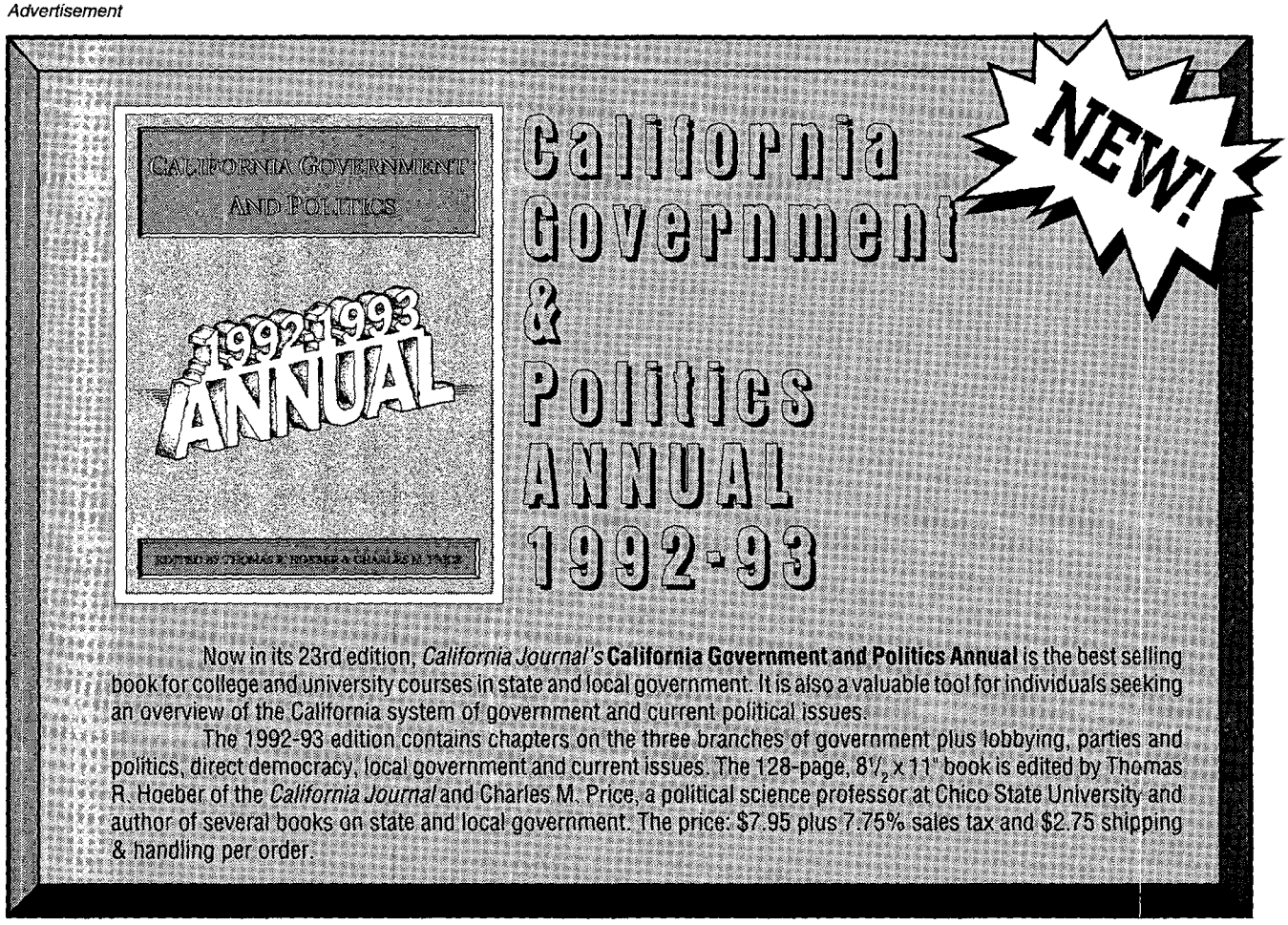
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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

CONGRESS

California's congressional delegation will have a new look after the 1992 elections. For one thing, it will be larger, with reapportionment adding seven new seats and raising the state's chunk of the House of Representatives from 45 to 52. In addition, the political landscape will look decidedly different than it did throughout the 1980s when the delegation was dominated by Democrats, most of them safe inside districts drawn by the late Congressman Phil Burton. The new districts, drawn by masters appointed by the state Supreme Court, aren't nearly so comfortable for some incumbents. Indeed, chances are that 21 of the state's 52 members will be new next year. Only 37 chose to seek re-election, and a virulent anti-incumbent mood circulating among the electorate could send the careers of several members into oblivion.

Currently, Democrats hold 26 seats, Republicans 19. Going into the November election, best estimates give Democrats 20 safe seats, with five more leaning in their direction. Republicans have 16 safe seats, with four leaning toward the GOP. Thus, control of the delegation rests in the seven districts considered "toss-ups." Of those seven, four involve incumbents: Republican Frank Riggs (District 1); and Democrats Rick Lehman (District 19), Tony Beilenson (District 24) and George Brown (District 42).

Regardless of the outcome, eleven incumbents will definitely not return to the House. Three Democrats retired voluntarily: Glenn Anderson, Mervyn Dymally and Ed Roybal. Two Republicans lost their primaries: Robert Lagomarsino and Bill Lowery. And four members ran for the U.S. Senate: Democrats Barbara Boxer and Mel Levine; Republicans Tom Campbell and Bill Dannemeyer.

Hamburg

Riggs

DISTRICT 1 (52% D - 35% R) — *Democrat. Dan Hamburg of Ukiah. Republican: Incumbent Frank Riggs of Windsor. Libertarian: Matthew Howard of Ukiah. Peace and Freedom: Phil Baldwin.*

Democrats are eyeing this district hungrily, eager to take back the seat they lost in 1990 when four-term incumbent Doug Bosco, who had alienated the left, lost 15 percent of the vote to a Peace and Freedom candidate. They're placing their hopes in one-term Mendocino County Supervisor Dan Hamburg, who unexpectedly ran unopposed in the primary after Bosco (who it turns out was one of Congress' worst check kiters), decided not to run again. The first congressional district could plausibly be rated a Democratic seat, but anything could happen in an area where environmental issues dominate the north and cutbacks in Pentagon spending dominate the south around Travis Air Force Base. Republican Frank Riggs, a maverick Republican (one of only three House Republicans to vote against the Gulf War resolution), is hoping voters will agree that Hamburg is an "ultra-liberal fringe candidate," and has attacked Hamburg for spending the summer campaigning full time while collecting $1800 in unemployment benefits. Hamburg, in turn, has criticized Riggs for charging taxpayers $665 to buy first-class and business-class upgrades for plane travel, and also for having the distinction of ranking 12th among California representatives in billing taxpayers for election-year mailings. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has identified Riggs as one of its top 10 targets this year, but the GOP isn't ready to give up his seat without a fight. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Elliot Freedman of Chico. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Chico. Libertarian: Harry Pendery of Paradise.*

Massive wildfires that consumed 35,000 acres in his rural northeastern district likely have been a greater worry to Wally Herger this year than the general election. Herger sits in a safe Republican seat and should have no trouble warding off criminal defense attorney Elliot Freedman of Chico. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (48% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Vic Fazio of Sacramento. Republican: H.L. Richardson of Sacramento. Libertarian: Ross Crain.*

This will be one of the high-stakes races in California where seven-term incumbent Vic Fazio, one of the top-ranked House Democrats, faces ultra-conservative, former state Senator H.L. Richardson in a redrawn district that offers a level playing field for a Republican. Fazio, who serves on the House Appropriations Committee, the bipartisan dispensary for congressional pork, clearly is anticipating an exciting fall. He raised more than $1 million in the 18-month period ending June 30th, ranking him fifth in the nation

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Fazio

Richardson

in fund raising. But he's spent less than half of it, and the money keeps pouring in. Richardson trails in fund raising, but he's a savvy campaigner who has strong ties to the gun lobbies (he founded Gun Owners of America in 1975) and the Christian fundamentalist movement, which will ensure he raises as much money as he needs. Richardson, who represented an Orange County district in the Senate until 1988 (after serving 22 years), has decided he wants to head to Washington to do something about the federal deficit. But first he'll have to ward off reminders of his horrible attendance and voting records while in the Senate, and that he voted in favor of the bill that would have authorized construction of the Peripheral Canal, an unpopular project in Northern California. Even Republicans have said that if the issue of the race becomes Richardson, they lose; while if the issue is Fazio, they win. Fazio's lead has been shrinking in the last few weeks, and if voters express discontent with career politicians, they have an easy target in Fazio, who sponsored three pay-raise bills. But Fazio, a skilled politician, has not yet begun the real fight, which will take place in the coming weeks. The differences between Fazio and Richardson are significant, but voters here may not be ready for Richardson's brand of politics. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 4 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Patricia Malberg of Lincoln. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Rocklin. Libertarian: Patrick McHargue of Sonora.*

With a pesky primary opponent out of the way, John Doolittle thought he could focus on opponent Patricia Malberg, who though certainly a long-shot candidate, has demonstrated in earlier elections that she is a formidable challenger. (In 1990, Doolittle defeated Malberg 51 percent to 49 percent, a dangerously close call considering registration then was 45 percent Democrat, 45 percent Republican.) Then lo and behold, up bounces GOP primary opponent, Don Brooksher, as a qualified write-in candidate. Brooksher captured only 29 percent of the vote at primary time, but he was encouraged by those results since he spent much of the campaign season tending to his ill, 34-year-old son. This must feel a little like *deja vu* to Doolittle. Back in 1984, when Doolittle was running for re-election to the Senate, reapportionment put him into a district that also included GOP incumbent Ray Johnson. Party leaders opted to support Doolittle, which honked off Johnson, who left the party and ran as an independent. The Doolittle campaign gave under-the-table financial help to the Democratic candidate, who then garnered enough votes to sink Johnson. (Doolittle and his campaign subsequently were fined by the Fair Political Practices Commission for their handiwork.) Perhaps this time, Brooksher will siphon enough votes to give Malberg, a former community college French teacher, swinging room. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 (59% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui. Republican: Robert Dinsmore. American Independent: Gordon Mors. Green: Tian Harter. Libertarian: Chris Rufer. All are from Sacramento.*

Seven-term incumbent Robert Matsui has a safe Democratic seat, but who is safe in these anti-incumbent times? Matsui faces Robert Dinsmore, an unemployed former bookstore owner and Stanford University graduate who favors drastic spending cuts for programs ranging from welfare to farm subsidies to job training. But his underdog bid will fail and Matsui, who sits on the House Budget and Ways and Means committees, will sail into another term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Filante

Woolsey

DISTRICT 6 (53% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republican: Bill Filante of San Rafael.*

Surgery for a malignant brain tumor last August has severely hobbled William Filante's bid for office, and his misfortunes have been compounded by a campaign that couldn't seem to get its story straight. Filante, a popular and well-respected seven-term assemblyman known for his capacity to win cross-over votes, was considered the leader in this race until his illness sent

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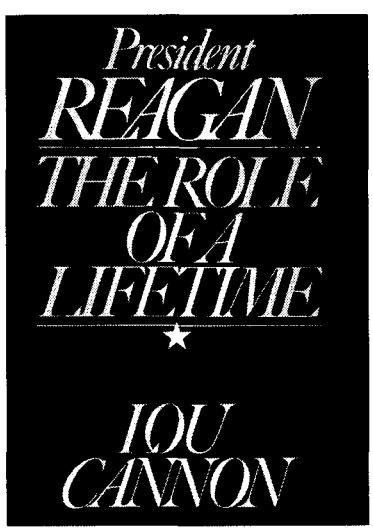

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him to the hospital, where he's been ever since. An attempt by his campaign to assure the public that he was strong enough to continue the race *and* to serve in Congress backfired when a promised audio tape of an interview with Filante was not made available, and instead only a transcript of the 15-minute conversation was given out. The campaign blamed poor acoustics, but a professional radio consultant had been used to make the tape, and no attempt was made to schedule a second taping. Finally, on September 16th, the Filante campaign announced that Filante was not well enough to campaign for the remainder of the race and would soon be leaving the hospital to return to his home in San Rafael. From a legal standpoint, Filante will be on the ballot no matter what happens. Should he be elected but not be able to take office, a special election would be held next year. One Republican prominently mentioned as running in that race is Assemblywoman Bev Hansen of Sonoma, who is not seeking re-election this year and has served as a Filante surrogate on the campaign trail. Meanwhile, Democrat Lynn Woolsey, the vice mayor of Petaluma, is laying low and refusing to debate surrogates. By doing so, she may have this race sewn up. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (61% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Pleasant Hill. Republican: Dave Scholl of Fairfield. Peace and Freedom: David Franklin of Oakland.*

Ten-term incumbent George Miller will have no trouble keeping this solidly Democratic Bay Area district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 17% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco. Republican: Marc Wolin of San Francisco. Libertarian: James Elwood. Peace and Freedom: Cesar Cadabes of San Francisco.*

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi has little to worry about from opponent Marc Wolin, a 28-year-old government relations consultant. Instead, she can reflect on her future political options, which have broadened substantially following her appointment last spring by Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown to be co-chair of the committee that crafted the Democratic policy platform for the national convention. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (68% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Ronald Dellums. Peace and Freedom: Dave Linn of Albany.*

Eleven-term incumbent Ron Dellums had neither a primary opponent nor Republican rival this year, but Republican write-in candidate Billy Hunter has qualified for the ballot. Hunter, a former professional football player and now an attorney (with clients that include rapper M.C. Hammer), has virtually no chance of defeating Dellums, widely considered the most liberal member of California's delegation. Even having written 851 bad checks won't hurt this former Berkeley city councilman. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 10 (42% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Wendell Williams of Walnut Creek. Republican: Bill Baker of Danville.*

This new district was created for Republicans, and six-term Assemblyman Bill Baker saw it as his chance to jump into Congress. Unfortunately for him, Wendell Williams saw this as *his* big chance to take on Baker again. Williams, a management consultant, got 45 percent of the vote in an Assembly race against Baker in 1990 when Democratic registration in the district was just 37 percent. Williams hopes that by keeping up a drumbeat that Baker is against choice on the abortion issue, and that he donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to right-wing candidates and causes (such as Congressman Robert Dornan and U.S. Senate candidate Bruce Herschensohn), he'll create enough discomfort among moderate Republicans that they'll vote for him. But Baker, widely considered one of the sharpest minds in the Assembly, heads into the battle with a considerable financial advantage as well as plenty of Republican friends in this district. LEANS REPUBLICAN

Garamendi

Pombo

DISTRICT 11 (51% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Patricia Garamendi of Stockton. Republican: Richard Pombo of Tracy; Libertarian: Christine Robers of Galt.*

This is a conservative Democratic district that tends to vote Republican. For example, even though Democrats are in the majority, Dianne Feinstein got just 41.5 percent of the vote in her bid for governor. Against this backdrop, voters did an interesting thing last June: They rejected the Republican moderate, Sacramento County Supervisor Sandra Smoley, leaving hard-right conservative Richard Pombo, a Tracy councilman, to do battle with veteran campaigner Patricia Garamendi. Polls show Garamendi has greater name recognition (due, in part, to husband John, who is state Insurance Commissioner and former state senator in the area). But Garamendi, a two-time loser in the past two years (once for an Assembly seat, once for a Senate seat) has got some baggage that could open the door a crack to Pombo. Pombo, 31, a rancher and fourth-generation San Joaquin Valley resident, whipped through the June primary, ending up the top vote-getter in a field of six. That immediately got him into the money pipeline of the Republican Party, so that while he ended the primary fight with but $2700, he's had such distinguished guests as Vice President Dan Quayle making a campaign pit stop for him this summer that helped him raise $80,000 in a single night. But Garamendi, who still has a significant lead in fund raising, has her friends, too — mainly women's groups and labor unions — and they're just as loyal and hard working as ever on her behalf. Her ace-in-the-hole, if she has one, is that Pombo is too conservative for this district. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 12 (55% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Hillsborough. Republican: Jim Tomlin of San Mateo. Libertarian: George O'Brien of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Mary Weldon of San Francisco.*

Incumbent Tom Lantos is the over-

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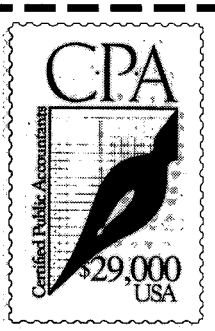

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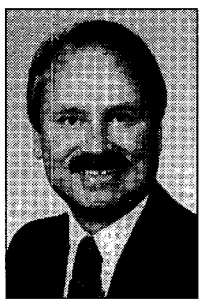
whelming favorite in this solidly Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (58% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Fortney Stark of Hayward. Republican: Verne Teyler of Castro Valley. Peace and Freedom: Roslyn Allen of Oakland.*

Ten-term incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark has little to worry about in facing conservative Republican Vern Teyler (who used to be a branch manager in one of Stark's banks). SAFE DEMOCRATIC



Huening

Eshoo

DISTRICT 14 (46% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Anna Eshoo of Atherton. Republican: Tom Huening of Belmont. Libertarian: Chuck Olson of Palo Alto. Peace and Freedom: David Wald of Santa Clara.*

By now, Tom Campbell is probably wishing he'd never left this tailor-made seat to run for the U.S. Senate. But leave he did, and his departure for the ill-fated campaign, combined with the re-configuration of this mid-Peninsula district, gave new life to Democratic possibilities here. But victory isn't theirs for the asking. The race is going to be a close one. Traditionally, the district has elected moderate Republicans, such as Campbell, Ed Zschau and Pete McCloskey. But lots of Democrats — eight to be exact — lined up to try their chances this time around. San Mateo County Supervisor Anna Eshoo, a conservative Democrat who ran against the incumbent Campbell in 1988 (losing 46 percent to 52 percent in a district that was then 44 percent Democratic, 42 percent Republican) emerged on top. She ran away with what was expected to be a close race against fellow San Mateo Supervisor Tom Nolan and Assemblyman Ted Lempert, getting 40 percent of the vote. Republicans also had a crowd of candidates, and Tom Huening, an airline pilot for 20 years who also is a San Mateo supervisor, was the top vote-getter. Huening, a moderate, pro-choice Republican (who ran unsuccessfully for a state Senate seat in 1984), has been labeled a "boring white male" in a district where gender is important. Even before the "Year of the Woman," voters in this affluent, highly educated district gave Dianne Feinstein 56 percent in 1990 when Democratic registration was 44 percent. Huening, however, has the advantage of Campbell's Senate defeat: Area Republicans now can work on Huening's campaign, and popular state Senator Becky Morgan is firmly in his corner. Both candidates are positioning themselves as agents of change; both are wooing would-be Perot voters and both are distancing themselves from the policies of their party's presidential nominee: Huening on the choice question and Eshoo in opposing tax hikes for the wealthy. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (46% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Norm Mineta of San Jose. Republican: Robert Wick of Santa Clara. Libertarian: Duggan Deiterly of San Jose.*

After nine terms in Congress, Norman Mineta finally could have made it on the Republicans' hit list, since reapportionment boosted Republican registration in this district to 40 percent. Instead, Mineta faces retired businessman Robert Wick, a virtual unknown who's never held elective office. Mineta, the former mayor of San Jose, was criticized earlier this summer for getting a $15,000 personal loan from a prominent San Jose developer who has long been one of Mineta's political pa-

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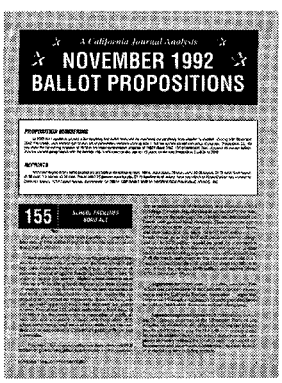

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trons. But the loan was not illegal, and local newspapers reported that there was no evidence Mineta took action to aid the developer since joining Congress in 1974. Mineta is one of the state's two Asian Americans in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 16 (56% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Don Edwards. Republican. Theodore Bundesen. Peace and Freedom: Amani Kuumba. All are of San Jose.*

Incumbent Don Edwards, the dean of California's congressional delegation, drew a very conservative primary challenger in engineering manager Edward Dykes, who forced him to spend twice what he spent on his primary campaign two years ago to defend himself. Now, however, the 30-year veteran can coast to victory in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (52%D — 32%R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley. Republican: Bill McCampbell of Monterey. Libertarian: John D. Wilkes of Watsonville. Peace and Freedom: Maureen Smith of Aptos.*

Although Republicans occasionally cast a glance in the direction of this district, there really isn't much chance for them here. The independents along the coast tend to gravitate toward Democrats, and incumbent Leon Panetta, head of the House Budget Committee, remains popular here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (53% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Ceres. Libertarian: Kim Almstrom of Modesto.*

Condit won a special election in 1989 to fill out the unexpired term of Tony Coelho. Kim Almstrom, a Libertarian, got 130 votes in the primary to Condit's 37,543 votes. At that rate, Almstrom would need a special alignment of moon and stars to win the seat from Condit. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Cloud

Lehman

DISTRICT 19 (47% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Rick Lehman of Fresno. Republican: Tal Cloud of Fresno. Peace and Freedom: Dorothy Wells of Madera.*

Reapportionment gave this formerly Democratic stronghold in the Central Valley a decidedly Republican edge, and four Republicans rushed in to try their chances last June. Emerging victorious was young Tal Cloud, whose victory against more seasoned politicians (a Mariposa County supervisor and the Sanger mayor) caught everyone by surprise. Cloud, 27, is vice president of a paper conversion firm he runs with his mother. Running on political instinct alone, he raised more than $32,000; got coverage in *The Wall Street Journal* and just "did everything right," according to Democrats and Republicans alike. A pro-choice moderate, Cloud has continued to campaign energetically and creatively; for example, he offered free admission to Duncan Water Gardens, a private park that is an oasis in Fresno, to the first 250 people who called his office. Five-term incumbent Rick Lehman, by contrast, has been relatively invisible in the district, and Democrats are fuming that unless he acts as if he's got a real fight on his hands, it just may be Cloud who heads to Washington. Lehman, however, may have good reason to be confident. Despite running in a district that is 50 percent new to him, he got 76 percent of the vote in his primary and raised $422,547 (13 times more than Cloud). He also occupies an Interior subcommittee chair, and this puts him in an excellent position to help the growers in his district, who therefore have good reason to keep him in office. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 20 (62% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Calvin Dooley of Hanford. Republican: Ed Hunt of Fresno.*

One-termer Cal Dooley, a fourth-generation Central Valley farmer who got his feet wet in politics as state Senator Rose Ann Vuich's administrative assistant, had no primary opponent but can't relax yet. Fresno District Attorney Ed Hunt (whose campaign manager, Dalton Moore, is Dooley's former campaign manager), will make sure of that. But one of Hunt's biggest supporters won't be voting for him: that's Hunt himself. Hunt lives a couple of miles from the edge of the district in which he's running, which is perfectly legal. In any case Dooley, who is on the Agriculture and water-watching Interior committees, has the advantage over Hunt of having an agriculture background in an agriculture-oriented, solidly Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 21 (42% D - 47% R) — *Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield.*

Thomas is seeking his eighth term in Congress, and, boy, is he in a sweat over it. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 22 (40% D — 44% R) — *Democrat: Gloria Ochoa of Santa Barbara. Republican: Michael Huffington of Santa Barbara. Libertarian: W. Howard Dilbeck of Atascadero. Green: Mindy Lorenz of Ventura.*

Huffington

Ochoa

Santa Barbara County Supervisor Gloria Ochoa has her work cut out for her. This is an uphill district for any Democrat, although GOP voters along the coast tend to be less loyal than their inland counterparts. But Ochoa hoped she would be facing nine-term incumbent Robert Lagomarsino in November. Lagomarsino, who barely escaped a strong challenge four years ago by popular state Senator Gary Hart, was enticed to move northward to defend this district after reapportionment. Unfortunately, he ran into multi-millionaire Michael Huffington. Huffington has long been active in Republican Party affairs and felt it was time for him to win a spot in Congress. He spent more than $3 million of his own

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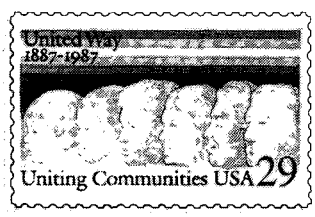

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cash on the primary and edged out the incumbent by 7 percentage points. Ochoa now finds herself running against a more moderate opponent who is apparently willing to spend any amount to win in November. She says that she's running an "old-fashioned, grass-roots campaign" and that voters will rebel at Huffington's attempts "to buy the election." One other factor may throw a monkey wrench into Huffington's plans. Lagomarsino and his supporters are reportedly very bitter about the ambush, and the former congressman just might launch a write-in campaign in an attempt to win back the seat. If that turns out to be the case, Lagomarsino could easily draw enough support away from Huffington to give the election to Ochoa. Although women are running strong this year, and Ochoa won early support from women's groups, Huffington is already beginning to saturate the Santa Barbara airwaves with commercials showing him being endorsed by Barbara Bush — but, interestingly, not George. It will take a remarkable campaign indeed — or intervention by Lagomarsino — for Ochoa to win. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 (42% D — 44% R) — *Democrat: Anita Perez Ferguson of Oxnard. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Jay C. Wood of Fillmore.*

Two-term incumbent Elton Gallegly probably avoided his worst re-election problem when fellow Republicans convinced Congressman Robert Lagomarsino to move northward into a new district. That left this Ventura County-based district to Gallegly. In November, he'll face Anita Perez Ferguson, a one-time aide to state Senator Gary Hart and Lagomarsino's opponent two years ago. Ferguson gathered two-thirds of the primary vote against a feisty opponent and emerges from that contest with little damage. She's battle-tested and has strong support from women's groups and campaign supporters who helped her two years ago. Democrats argue that Republicans in the area are a little miffed at the loss of Lagomarsino to the district to the north, and that Latinos in the area will vote in greater numbers not only because of Ferguson being on the ballot but because of local races as well. Still, Gallegly is not as conservative as many Republicans and his success as a developer in and former mayor of Simi Valley give him strong roots in the area. He will not be an easy target. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 24 (45% D — 43% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles. Republican: Tom McClintock of Newbury Park. Peace and Freedom: John Linblad of North Hollywood.*

Seven-term incumbent Tony

Beilenson

McClintock

Beilenson drew the short straw when West Los Angeles Democrats started to divvy up the congressional seats that remained after reapportionment. His district that had straddled the Santa Monica Mountains was pushed entirely into the San Fernando Valley, where the majority of the voters are registered Republicans. Now brash Assemblyman Tom McClintock, having held off eight opponents in the primary, expects to beat the incumbent in November. McClintock is the foremost Republican critic of the state's budget: He favors turning over to the private sector everything from street lights to prisons. And the summer's budget stalemate provided an extra dose of fodder for his campaign. He notes accurately that Beilenson is a liberal and says the incumbent is far too left for the new district. On the other hand, McClintock is pretty far to the right, and a substantial number of voters here could end up longing for a candidate who is closer to the middle of the political spectrum. It's not clear what they will do, come Election Day. This district will end up one of the state's major battlegrounds as Democrats try to hold onto one of their incumbents and Republicans try to wrest away a district that, by registration alone, should belong in their column. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 25 (37% D — 51% R) — *Democrat: James Gilmartin of Santa Clarita. Republican: Howard "Buck" McKeon of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: Peggy Christensen of Granada Hills. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Lawrence of Los Angeles. Green: Charles Wilken of Northbridge.*

This new seat in the Santa Clarita and Antelope valleys north of Los Angeles is solid Republican territory. A half-dozen Republicans tried out for the slot, including Assemblyman Phil Wyman from Kern County, former John Birch Society member and Congressman John Rousselot and former LA County Assessor John Lynch. But the winner was home-grown Buck McKeon, who had been Santa Clarita's first mayor. With his family, McKeon runs a string of western-wear stores. He collected some 700 more votes than Wyman to win the primary and should have little trouble beating another local product, James Gilmartin, also from Santa Clarita. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 (58% D — 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Gary Forsch of Sun Valley. Libertarian: Bernard Zimring of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: Margery Hinds of Los Angeles.*

Five-term incumbent Howard Berman has had things other than re-election on his mind lately. He and his political partner, Congressman Henry Waxman, spent much of the spring trying to expand their West Los Angeles-based political operation. But their major effort, getting Congressman Mel Levine elected to the U.S. Senate, backfired in a big way. Levine laid low during much of the season and then let fly with a barrage of some of the worst political television commercials seen in a long time. Levine spent more money than any of the other U.S. Senate candidates, and he finished leagues behind the winner — Barbara Boxer. But this cozy congressional district in the heart of the San Fernando Valley is congenial for Berman, and he should have little trouble coasting to victory, leaving him time for further political plotting. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (42% D — 46% R) — *Democrat: Doug Kahn of Altadena. Republican: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. Libertarian: Dennis Decherd of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Margaret Edwards of Altadena. Green: Jesse Moorman.*

Carlos Moorhead has represented the Glendale and Pasadena areas for 20 years now. He drew three primary opponents and still collected more than 60 percent of the vote. Democrats point to early polls that show dissatisfaction with Moorhead, and they have this wild dream that a last-minute ambush might be possible here. The anti-incumbent tide will have to be a lot stronger than anyone imagined for that dream to come true. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 28 (41% D — 48% R) — *Democrat: Al Wachtel of La Verne. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Thomas Dominy of Rosemead. Green: Walter Sheasby of Sierra Madre.*

Republican David Dreier is sitting on one of the largest campaign bank accounts of anyone in the House of Representatives. He started collecting it awhile back on the chance he might run for the U.S. Senate. So far, he hasn't. And in the meantime, should he ever face a real challenge, well, let's just say he'll be ready. But this isn't likely to be the year. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 29 (57% D — 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republican: Mark Robbins of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Felix Rogin of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Susan Davies of Los Angeles.*

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Henry Waxman, the other half of the Berman-Waxman political operation, ended up with the one really good Democratic seat in the affluent west side of Los Angeles. He will have no trouble winning here, leaving him plenty of time to dabble in other races. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (60% D — 25% R) — *Democrat: Xavier Becerra of Monterey Park. Republican: Morry Waksberg of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Andrew Consalvo of Culver City. Peace and Freedom: Elizabeth Nakano of Los Angeles. Green: Blase Bonpane of Santa Monica.*

The real contest in the East Los Angeles district was the Democratic primary where competing Latino factions fought to see which of their number would succeed 30-year congressional veteran Ed Roybal. The district attracted 10 Democrats to the primary, testament to the political diversity of the area. Still, there are two main factions that hold sway over Los Angeles Latino politics. Assemblyman Xavier Becerra ran with the blessing of Roybal and LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina. His chief opponent was LA city school board member Leticia Quezada, who had the backing of state Senator Art Torres, Assemblyman Richard Polanco and LA Councilman Richard Alatorre. On election day, Becerra collected 31 percent of the vote, with Quezada coming in second with 22 percent. Third place went to Albert Lum, who collected the votes of the sizeable Asian community that also resides here. Becerra, a Stanford-trained lawyer, should have little trouble holding this seat for many years to come. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (58% D — 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Matthew Martinez of Montebello. Republican: Ruben Franco of San Gabriel.*

Ten-year veteran Marty Martinez always has something of a scrap before he wins re-election in this district east of downtown Los Angeles, usually in the form of a challenge from within Democratic ranks. This year, three other Democrats took a crack at him, but Martinez collected 57 percent of the vote and should have little trouble come November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (76% D — 14% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City. Peace and Freedom: William Williams of Los Angeles.*

This district, near Crenshaw, Culver City and Exposition Park in Los Angeles, is 76 percent Democratic. No wonder the Republicans didn't even bother with a candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 33 (66% D — 22% R) — *Democrat: Lucille Roybal-Allard of Los Angeles. Republican: Robert Guzman of Bell. Libertarian: Dale Olvera of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Tim Delia of Pasadena.*

That Ed Roybal is leaving Congress after 30 years doesn't mean the family's political dynasty has run its course. His daughter, Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, won the Democratic nomination in this new Latino seat near Huntington Park and Southgate. Now she will take her intelligent, hard-working style of representation to Washington. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 34 (61% D — 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Esteban Torres of West Covina. Republican: J. "Jay" Hernandez of Whittier. Libertarian: Carl Swinney of Whittier.*

Five-term incumbent Esteban Torres had no primary opponents to worry about. Neither did any of the other nominees. But this district that includes the communities of Montebello, Norwalk, Pico Rivera and La Puente east of Los Angeles, is unlikely to stray. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 35 (79% D — 12% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Nate Truman of Gardena. Libertarian: Carin Rogers of Playa del Rey. Peace and Freedom: Alice Mae Miles of Los Angeles.*

There may be a Truman revival going on, after all. George Bush says the former president is his hero, too. But the man from Missouri will have to have amazing posthumous coattails indeed to bring victory to Republican Nate Truman in this district, the most Democratic in the state. Get ready, Washington, Maxine is on her way back. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Flores

DISTRICT 36 (42% D — 45% R) — *Democrat: Jane Harman of Marina del Rey. Republican: Joan Milke Flores of Torrance. Libertarian: Marc Denny of Hermosa Beach. Peace and Freedom: Owen Staley of Los Angeles. Green: Richard Greene of Manhattan Beach.*

This new seat along the Pacific runs from Santa Monica through the Palos Verdes Peninsula. Strongly Republican by registration, it has been hit hard by the recession, which has resulted in many layoffs in the aerospace industry located here. Still, the numbers were good enough that 11 Republicans sought the nomination, including several with big names. The biggest belonged to Maureen Reagan, daughter of the former president, who found herself in a pitched battle with Los Angeles Councilwoman Joan Milke Flores. President Reagan may be the patron saint of California conservatives, but his daughter is of a more moderate bent, in favor of such things as abortion rights. It was the

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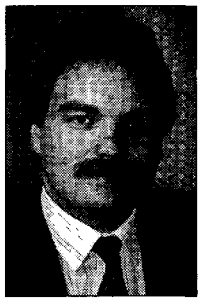
more conservative Milke Flores who ended up winning the nomination with 34 percent of the primary vote. Her conservatism may provide an opening for the Democrat, attorney Jane Harman, who once held an appointment from former President Jimmy Carter. She has secured support from women's groups and can, if she chooses, call on her own financial resources in her campaign against Milke Flores. But old-line pols are a little troubled by Harman. They worry that she may not have the stomach for the down-and-dirty work that's ususally necessary in a tough campaign. Milke Flores has no such shortcoming. She comes to the contest with years of scrapping on the LA council as a training ground. The times are turbulent, making this district much more difficult to call than in more stable times and Democrats already have cut two points off the Republican registration advantage since the beginning of the election. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 37 (76% D — 14% R) — *Democrat: Walter Tucker of Compton. Peace and Freedom: B. Kwaku Duren of Compton.*

Compton Mayor Walter Tucker should have completed his Washington house-hunting by now. But last spring it was by no means certain he was going to be moving. This seat, the second most heavily Democratic in the state, had been held by Congressman Mervyn Dymally for 10 years and when he announced that he would retire, he hoped to lateral it to his daughter, Lynn, a member of the Compton school board. She ran a rough-and-tumble campaign, but ended up with 37 percent of the vote to 40 percent for Tucker in a five-person field. Now Tucker should be secure here for years to come. SAFE DEMOCRATIC



Anderson Braude

Horn

DISTRICT 38 (48%D — 41%R) — *Democrat: Evan Anderson Braude of Long Beach. Republican: Steve Horn of Long Beach. Libertarian: Blake Ashley of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Paul Burton of Long Beach.*

This district in the Long Beach area of Los Angeles is another that has been hit hard by defense cutbacks. For years it was represented by Democrat Glenn Anderson, who decided to retire rather than run in a redrawn district that was decidedly more difficult for Democrats. There was no shortage of Republicans who wanted to take the challenge, including former Assemblyman Dennis Brown, who retired from the Legislature two years ago to do missionary work. He was called back by his conservative friends to run for Congress. It was one of the closest primaries in the state, with a recount threatened at several turns. But in the end, Brown finished up just behind college professor Steve Horn. That is probably bad news for Democrat Evan Anderson Braude, Glenn Anderson's stepson. It would have been easier for Braude, a member of the Long Beach council, to run against Brown, who, as an assemblyman, stood out as a conservative in a very conservative Republican caucus. Horn carried the standard for more moderate Republicans and will make a more difficult target next month. Democrats have put a new campaign team in charge of the Braude race and they are working hard to increase Democratic registration here. Furthermore, they say Horn has a few "negatives" in his closet that can be exploited before Election Day. And in this part of the state, Republican economics can't be too popular. This will be a very close race. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 50% R) — *Democrat: Molly McClanahan. Republican: Ed Royce. Libertarian: Jack Dean. All of Fullerton.*

The incumbent from this district, Republican William Dannemeyer, tried to move up to the U.S. Senate but was wiped out in the June primary by appointed incumbent John Seymour. Under normal circumstances, an open congressional seat in solid GOP territory would attract wannabes the way a flower attracts bees. But state Senator Ed Royce declared his candidacy on the heels of Dannemeyer's abdication and lined up support from the Orange County GOP establishment. That support, along with Royce's solid conservative credentials and ability to raise large buckets of campaign cash, pre-empted the GOP field. Democrat Molly McClanahan, a Fullerton councilwoman, has shown vote-getting ability among Republicans in non-partisan races, and she could benefit from a "gender vote" come November. But the GOP registration edge is enormous. One-third of the district lies in Los Angeles County, where Democratic registration matches that of the GOP. But the rest of the district is in Orange County, where Republicans outnumber Democrats by 30,000, and where a gender vote wasn't all that much in evidence during the primary. Still, the race remains a longshot possibility for Democrats. The district's largest population base is Fullerton where Molly McClanahan has been a popular elected official. McClanahan also has shown an ability to raise some money, although she won't be able to match Royce's war chest. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (39% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Donald Rusk of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Peace and Freedom: Margie Akin of Riverside.*

Incumbent Jerry Lewis has been representing San Bernardino County in the Assembly and in Congress since 1968. Reapportionment added Inyo County as well to what has become an expansive

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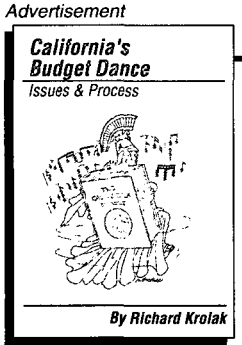

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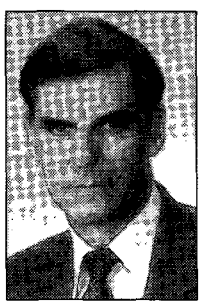
congressiona district. That's a lot of new territory for Lewis. Fortunately for him, it's mostly Republican territory. Educator Donald Rusk will give it the college try, but he's overmatched. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 (39% D - 50% R) — *Democrat: Bob Baker of Anaheim. Republican: Jay Kim of Diamond Bar. Peace and Freedom: Mike Noonan of Claremont.*

November was supposed to provide the final leg on a triumphant march to Congress by former GOP Assemblyman Chuck Bader. But a funny thing happened to Bader on his way to Washington: He got knocked off in June by Diamond Bar Mayor Jay Kim. Kim, who stands to become the first Korean ever elected to Congress, beat Bader by 600 votes out of more than 42,000 cast in a six-way Republican contest. A wealthy businessman, Kim seeded his campaign with $130,000 of his own money and seems content to spend whatever it takes to win the seat. The size of Kim's wallet, plus a nine-point registration bulge in his favor, make the Republican all but invulnerable to Democrat Bob Baker, a defense analyst. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Brown



Rutan

DISTRICT 42 (52% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republican: Dick Rutan of Mojave. Libertarian: Fritz Ward of Riverside.*

George Brown Jr. is as old a warhorse as serves California in Congress. Sure, Democrat Don Edwards has been there slightly longer (both were first elected in 1962, but Brown had a one-year hiatus in 1971-72). But no other California Democrat has had to run in as tough a series of districts as has Brown. Situated along the Riverside-San Bernardino county line, they've never been very good territory for a Democrat. And demographic changes over the past 15 years have seen a huge influx of new suburbanites escaping the escalating prices and increased overcrowding in Orange and Los Angeles counties. A goodly portion of that influx is Republican and conservative — never welcome news for a liberal Democrat like Brown, whose percentage of the vote in his last three elections has steadily eroded (57, 54 and 53). Two years ago, in the old 36th District, he ran 2 points *behind* Democratic registration in defeating San Bernardino County Supervisor Bob Hammock. With registration sliding even more toward the GOP in 1992, Hammock was poised for a rematch. But Hammock got derailed in the primary by a political neophyte with big name recognition — pilot and inventor Dick Rutan, the man who flew the "Voyager" aircraft around the world in 1986 without refueling. Rutan is Libertarian in his conservativism, and he has shown a propensity for raising big bucks. He also is an outsider's outsider, buoyed in this election year by potential voter gravitation to those who have never even entertained the thought of running for office. But these voters may not want to toss out someone with congressional seniority who heads a committee that affects spending in the area's sagging aerospace industry. Locals may not want to change horses from someone who can deliver that kind of pork for the district. Still, Rutan, who received critical last-minute help from former Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater during the primary, now provides Brown with his greatest electoral challenge in years. Of course, we said the same thing about Hammock's challenge in 1990. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 43 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Mark Takano. Republican: Ken Calvert. American Independent: Gary Odom. Libertarian: Gene Berkman. All of Riverside.*

Seventeen — count 'em — seventeen candidates (seven Democrats, eight Republicans, one Libertarian and one Peace and Freedom) filed to run for this newly created, open district. The large GOP field wasn't surprising; the large Democratic field was, given registration here. Realtor Ken Calvert, scion of a Riverside County family with long GOP connections, beat back challenges from three main opponents in June, winning the race by a comfortable 6-point margin over UC Riverside professor S. Joseph Khoury. He now should be the heavy favorite to take a seat in Congress. But

Calvert

Takano

some Republicans are grumbling that Calvert has taken victory too much for granted and thus hasn't worked very hard. By contrast, Democrat Mark Takano is a hard charger who has received considerable help from Japanese-Americans throughout the state. Still, this is uphill for Takano, whose task was made easier when his main primary challenger, Raven Workman, decided not to mount a write-in campaign for November. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 44 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Georgia Smith of Perris. Republican: Incumbent Al McCandless of La Quinta. Libertarian: Phil Turner of Riverside.*

Veteran Al McCandless survived a serious scare in 1990 when actor Democrat Ralph Waite — "Pa Walton" to you — held the five-term incumbent to only 50 percent of the vote. Waite pondered another run in 1992 but opted to make a few more movies instead. McCandless didn't have time to enjoy the news, however, as two fellow Republicans took him on in the primary. McCandless won, of course, but he managed only 61 percent of the vote. And the fall campaign could prove even spicier. This is the Inland Empire where strange events have transpired inside the voting booth when women are present on the ballot. And a woman — Georgia Smith, a geographer — won the Democratic primary, easily besting two male candidates. Registration favors the GOP, and in a conventional year,

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McCandless would win in a walk. But 1992 has yet to prove conventional, especially when there is a woman on the ballot. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 45 (35% D - 54% R) — *Democrat: Patricia McCabe of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Gary Copeland of Fountain Valley.*

Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher seems to pick a theme for his re-election, then bellow on it for the sake of publicity. Two years ago, he gained a modicum of national exposure for bashing the National Endowment for the Arts over its grants for what Rohrabacher considered obscene art. This year, Rohrabacher is blasting his foghorn at illegal immigrants, and gaining the requisite national attention. All this didn't help him when it came to his new congressional district, where two Republican challengers knocked him around in the primary. They painted Rohrabacher as a political insider who moved back to California from Washington, D.C., several years ago just to run for office. They also thumped him over his liberal use of congressional franking to send mailers into territory that he did not represent — namely, those parts of his new district that did not overlap with his old 42nd District. Rohrabacher won, of course, but he managed less than 50 percent of the vote. Democrat Patricia McCabe, a CPA, plans a spirited campaign, but she'll need a major miracle — say, a wholesale slaughter of incumbents — to overcome an 18-point voter registration deficit. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 46 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Robert Banuelos of Fountain Valley. Republican: Incumbent Bob Dornan. Libertarian: Richard Newhouse. Both of Garden Grove.*

How to hate your friends and ignore your opponent. That seems to be the case with both candidates in this race. The most vocal and well-known Orange County lawmaker, Bob Dornan, inherited the worst Orange County district for a Republican. And although registration figures indicate that the area is relatively safe for the GOP, within its borders dwells a large but politically dormant Latino population that, if motivated, could provide "B-1 Bob" with a one-way ticket out of Washington. In Dornan's favor: Those Latinos as yet have shown no inclination to vote, and Democrat Robert Banuelos has precious little time left to energize them for 1992. But Banuelos and his campaign have spent part of the summer attacking their allies — namely, those congressional Democrats who dispense campaign largesse but have not been quick to pony up financial aid to Banuelos. Meanwhile, Dornan has spent part of the summer flailing away at a fellow Republican — primary opponent Judith Ryan and Ryan's campaign manager, Eileen Padberg. For a while, Dornan had to watch his backside as Ryan threatened to run as a write-in candidate on the fall ballot. Ryan took 40 percent of the primary vote after a spring campaign that generated gallons of bad blood between the two camps. Dornan responded to that potential problem by petitioning to scuttle Padberg's appointment to the Commission on the Status of Women. (The appointment went through.) In the end, Ryan decided not to run, thus clearing away the most formidable threat to Dornan's re-election. Meanwhile, Dornan has been named co-chairman of the national Bush-Quayle presidential campaign, which indicates that he doesn't give Banuelos much of a chance. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 47 (29% D - 59% R) — *Democrat: John Anwiler of Lake Forest. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Quirk of Orange.*

A quiet election season should see two-term incumbent Chris Cox return to Washington with a solid victory. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 48 (29% D - 57% R) — *Democrat: Michael Farber of Escondido. Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Oceanside. Libertarian: Ted Lowe of Oceanside. Peace and Freedom: Donna White of San Diego.*

If Ron Packard weren't in such a cushy GOP district, he might be dead meat. Seems that NBC News did a story about two Washington lobbyists with ties to Libyan strongman Muammar el-Qaddafi. Seems these two lobbyists were trying to lighten U.S. sanctions against Libya in the wake of Libyan involvement in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland a few years back. Seems these lobbyists told several people they were working in concert with a congressman. Seems that congressman turned out to be Ron Packard. Democrats would like to beat Packard over the head with this issue, but they're arousing precious little attention from the local press. Packard, meanwhile, says he didn't know who these lobbyists really worked for. It's all good fun, but probably won't alter the course of the election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 49 (39% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Lynn Schenk. Republican: Judy Jarvis. Libertarian: John Wallner. All of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Milton Zaslow of Solana Beach.*

The hottest congressional race south of Los Angeles pits two women with vEry diverse political backgrounds. Democrat Lynn Schenk has been involved in public life since the 1970s

Jarvis

Schenk

when she served in the Jerry Brown administration in Sacramento. Most recently, she's been serving as a San Diego port commissioner. Republican Judy Jarvis, on the other hand, is a political neophyte who came from nowhere to win the GOP primary in June. She is a nurse who owned a business called the California Nurses Bureau, which she sold a few years back. Both women survived rugged primaries. Schenk bested four other candidates, including attorney Byron Georgiou, another veteran of the Jerry Brown administration. Schenk's win was convincing; she took 53 percent of the vote, with Georgiou a very, very, very distant second with 25 percent. Jarvis, on the other hand, was an unknown when she took 21 percent of the vote to finish first in a mammoth 10-candidate GOP primary. All of her opponents were men, but they included Ray Saatjian, a cousin by marriage to former Governor George Deukmejian; and businessman Alan Uke, whose 17 percent of the vote put him in second place. Voter-registration figures slant toward Republicans and would seem to give Jarvis a leg up. But hers is a GOP base made of jello, as evidenced by the fact that reapportionment left three Republican incumbents in this district — and all three chose to move out and run somewhere else (two of them against each other in the 51st District primary). Voters here have repeatedly shown an independent streak that belies party loyalty, and Jarvis cannot count on knee-jerk GOP support. Thus, Schenk seems the early front-runner. She's a much more polished political operative who can rely on contacts throughout the country to fatten her campaign purse. Republican givers will rally to Jarvis, if for no other reason than they think the seat should be theirs and would be loathe to see it fall to a Democrat. But Schenk should easily win the money duel. Also, Jarvis has been hampered of late by an on-going squabble with the IRS over old tax liens applied against her business. On other fronts, Jarvis won the primary mostly because she was a woman — an asset neutralized by Schenk. So, voters will have a choice between the outsider and the insider; between the politician and the practical businesswoman. They will also be con-

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fronted with the irony of a wealthy Democrat running against a middle-class Republican. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Filner

Valencia

DISTRICT 50 (51% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Bob Filner of San Diego. Republican: Tony Valencia of Bonita. Libertarian: Barbara Hutchinson. Peace and Freedom: Roger Batchelder. Both of San Diego.*

The Democratic part of San Diego sees Councilman Bob Filner in the driver's seat after a difficult primary against former Congressman Jim Bates and state Senator Waddie Deddeh, among others. Filner, a top vote-getter in local elections, finished 3 percent ahead of runner-up Deddeh (26 percent to 23 percent), with Bates third at 20 percent. In some ways, Filner won because he had the fewest negatives; Deddeh was 71, and Bates had enough political baggage to sink the Queen Mary. There is much going on politically in San Diego this November (a tight mayoral race, the Kilea-Ellis state Senate race, Schenk-Jarvis in the neighboring 49th District, several hot Assembly races) so this race might not generate much interest. But despite the Democratic registration edge, Filner is no lock. The district itself is peppered with not-so-loyal voters from both parties. It is also a 41-percent Latino district, and Republican Tony Valencia is well known throughout the Hispanic community through his work with minority-owned businesses and his efforts to promote trade across the border with Mexico. Valencia won a tough GOP primary against two other Hispanic activists, and his task now is two-fold: get Latinos to the polls, and get them to vote Republican. That's no easy task. Filner was big vote-getter in local elections, and his City Council district is 80 percent Latino. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Bea Herbert. Republican: Incumbent Randy Cunningham. Green: Richard Roe. All of Del Mar. Libertarian: Bill Holmes of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Miriam Clark of Encinitas.*

Incumbent Randy Cunningham started out this political year gearing up for a murderous primary against fellow incumbent Bill Lowery. But Lowery got himself enmeshed in the the check-bouncing scandal at the now-defunct House bank and dropped from the race. Cunningham polled 52 percent of the vote in a five-way GOP primary (Lowery, his name still on the ballot, got 16 percent and finished third), and now is positioned to ease his way back to Congress for his second term. Democrat Bea Herbert, a surprise winner in her primary, won the five-way contest handily. Many observers credit her victory to the fact that she was the only woman candidate in a year when the "gender vote" was much in evidence in San Diego. It is doubtful that that vote will help her overcome Cunningham's 23-percent registration bulge. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Gastil

Hunter

DISTRICT 52 (37% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Janet Gastil of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado. Libertarian: Joe Shea of El Cajon. Peace and Freedom: Dennis Gretsinger of San Diego.*

Republican Duncan Hunter comes to this election with a mixed bag of assets and liabilities. On the plus side, he is a six-term incumbent who has repeatedly polled 75 percent of the vote. He is a conservative running in conservative, rural San Diego and Imperial counties. And he is a Republican, of course, in a district where 50 percent of voters are Republicans. But Hunter also bears some negatives. Earlier this year, he was identified as one of the Congress' worst check-bouncers. Not only that, his explanations were less than forthcoming, and at one point, he was reduced to appearing around the district with boxes of cancelled checks, allowing constituents to question him on any of them. In the June primary, he managed but 60 percent of the vote against two challengers. Although he recently received a letter from the FBI saying it would not prosecute him for his bad checks, it was less than a clean bill of health and left the door open for future actions. Democrat Janet Gastil, an attorney by trade, has thus far run a campaign that has made Hunter himself the issue — and not only on his ethics problems stemming from the House banking scandal. She's also turned the spotlight on Hunter's voting record, sending out reams of press releases detailing how the incumbent stands on issues like parental leave. Hunter has proved a tough campaigner but he hasn't really been challenged in years, and Gastil plans to keep up the heat all through the fall — if she can afford it. Her campaign is short of cash and can expect little from Washington Democrats spread thin all across the country. Polls show the race close to dead even. They show Hunter getting blown away when his check-bouncing adventures are explained, but Gastil may not have enough money to explain them to enough people. LEANS REPUBLICAN

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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

STATE SENATE

When all the shouting is done, it's most likely that the new state Senate will look just about like the old one. There are currently 24 Democrats, 13 Republicans, two independents and one vacancy in the Legislature's upper house. Because only half the Senate is elected every two years (this time it's the odd-numbered seats), turnover there is always slower. And it just so happens that this year's seats fall mostly to Republicans, and nearly all of them have safe districts. Indeed, of the 20 seats up in 1992, 10 are safe Republican and one leans Republican. Seven seats are safe Democratic, and one seat leans independent. There is only one toss-up district this year, Senate District 7 where incumbent Democrat Dan Boatwright has lost a substantial amount of friendly registration because of reapportionment and will face a strong challenge from former Assemblyman Gil Marguth. However, two Republicans holding even-numbered seats will be moving on after November, and those two spots will be filled by special elections in their old districts. Senator Ed Royce of Fullerton will likely be elected to Congress and Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield decided to run in the new 17th district, which has a strong Republican cast. The 16th district he represents now will become strongly Democratic, when it's up in two years. Should those two win, special elections will be held using the old district lines, which means that for at least a short while, the districts will stay in Republican hands. Thus, Republicans stand to gain one, maybe two seats, at least in the short run. But it will be the 1994 elections, when a number of Democrats with marginal districts are up for election, that Republicans will have an opportunity to make real gains.

DISTRICT 1 (44% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Thomas Romero of Loomis. Republican: Incumbent Tim Leslie of Carnelian Bay. Green: Kent Smith of Grass Valley.*

Tim Leslie, a three-term assemblyman before winning this seat in a special election in 1991 (with the endorsements of both Governor Pete Wilson and former Governor George Deukmejian), sits in one of the most secure Republican seats in California this year. While the 13 counties he represents in northeastern California aren't pleased generally with state government (they voted overwhelmingly in favor of splitting the state last June), they're loyal to Leslie, who shouldn't have any trouble defeating Democrat Thomas Romero, a school teacher. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (59% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Milton Marks of San Francisco. Republican: Bill Boerum of Greenbrae. Libertarian: Will Wohler of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Giovanni Graham of San Francisco.*

Anyone looking for suspense in this district, and who missed the primary, is out of luck, because that's where it was, if only for a few minutes. Back in June, Marks, a 72-year-old who's represented San Francisco for 23 years (only the last four as a Democrat) faced off against former San Francisco District Attorney Joe Freitas. Aided by an avalanche of money, Marks beat Freitas 72 percent to 28 percent and now can coast through to November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 5 (50% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Patrick Johnston of Stockton. Republican: Ron Stauffer of Lodi. Libertarian: Eric Roberts of Galt.*

Republicans must be biting themselves for not paying closer attention to this district, where reapportionment gave them a potential advantage. As it is, Patrick Johnston, who ran unopposed in the primary, faces a virtual unknown in Ron Stauffer, a 34-year-old hospital equipment supplier. Johnston, 46, represented San Joaquin County in the Assembly for 10 years before winning this seat in a special election in 1991 to succeed John Garamendi, who was elected state insurance commissioner. Johnston, formerly a Calaveras County probation officer, was a one-time chief of staff to then-Senator Garamendi. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (45% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Daniel Boatwright of Concord. Republican: Gilbert Marguth Jr. of Livermore.*

Three-term incumbent Dan Boatwright may have said just the wrong thing at the wrong time when he complained during this year's drawn-out budget negotiations that his job was a relatively low-paying "pain in the ass." Known as a maverick who's not particularly well-liked by his colleagues, Boatwright may find himself campaigning awfully hard this fall, especially since his opponent is former Assemblyman Gilbert Marguth. Marguth, a pro-choice moderate, has been endorsed by the influential Lincoln Club and Governor Pete Wilson. He is a technology transfer specialist at the University of California's Lawrence Livermore laboratory and a former deputy to state schools chief Bill Honig. He also is the Republicans' great hope for this East Bay seat, where reapportionment raised Republican registration from 35 percent to 42 percent. Boatwright, an attorney and a conservative among Democrats, served in the Assembly from 1973-80 before being elected to the Senate. Marguth was elected to the Assembly in 1980, when he defeated an incumbent Democrat — Floyd Mori — in a district with just 28 percent Republican registration. His political career ended in 1982 when reapportion-

Boatwright

Marguth

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ment combined his and Assemblyman Bill Baker's district, and he agreed to step aside for Baker and run against Bill Lockyer for Senate. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 9 (69% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Nicholas Petris of Oakland. Republican: David Campbell.*

Nicholas Petris, who ran unopposed in June, has represented Oakland and the Democratic areas of the East Bay for 34 years. There's little chance that Petris, who won with 75 percent of the vote in 1988, won't win yet another term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 11 (45% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Frank Trinkle of Mountain View. Republican: Incumbent Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos. Libertarian: Christopher Inama of East Palo Alto.*

Rebecca Morgan, a moderate Republican with a reputation for effective work in Sacramento, is not expected to have any trouble winning re-election to a third term against her little-known opponent, retired businessman Frank Trinkle. The more interesting question is which statewide office she'll seek next year, since Proposition 140, the term-limits measure, prevents her from seeking another Senate term. (Lieutenant governor, secretary of state and controller are a few she's mentioned.) Morgan, a former Santa Clara County supervisor, also has been mentioned as a potential candidate for governor, but she probably won't get that chance until 1998, assuming Pete Wilson seeks re-election in 1994. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Alfred Alquist of San Jose. Republican: Michael Iddings of San Jose. Libertarian: John Webster of San Jose.*

This may be octogenarian Alfred Alquist's last hurrah. Alquist, who was a railroad yardmaster in San Jose when he was elected to the Assembly in 1963, joined the Senate in 1966. He ran unopposed in the primary and has only token opposition in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (51% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Henry Mello of Watsonville. Republican: Edward Laverone of San Juan Bautista. Peace and Freedom: Susanne Espinoza of Santa Cruz.*

Incumbent Henry Mello had something of a scare in June when he won just 57 percent of the vote against a token opponent, engineer Martin Vonnegut, nephew of author Kurt. But with the primary behind him, and with registration in his favor, Mello should have plenty of slack in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (36% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: William Olenick of Quartz Hill. Republican: Incumbent Don Rogers of Tehachapi. Libertarian: Fred Heiser of Santa Clarita.*

Don Rogers didn't have to run in 1992 since he still has two years left as senator from the old 16th District. But that district resembles not at all the new 16th designed by Supreme Court map-makers for the 1992 reapportionment. The old 16th was decidedly Republican; the new 16th is solidly Democratic. Thus, Rogers decided to leap across to the new 17th District because he'd never be able to win in the new 16th. Rogers' eventual victory here sets up an interesting scenario that essentially disenfranchises a slew of voters for the next two years. Because Rogers is vacating his 16th District seat, a special election will be held early in 1993 to fill out the remaining two years of that term. But the election will be held in the *old* 16th District, which is Republican. The *new* 16th won't elect a senator until 1994. So voters who live in both the old 16th *and* new 17th districts will have two senators; those that live in the new 16th but *not* the old 16th will have none. Either way, Rogers will be in the Senate because, if by some miracle he loses this election, he'll still be representing the old 16th District. Confused? SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 19 (40% D — 47% R) — *Democrat: Henry Phillip Starr of Bell Canyon. Republican: Cathie Wright of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Richard Burns of Woodland Hills. Peace and Freedom: Charles Najbergier of Northridge.*

The northwest corner of Los Angeles County is Republican territory, and over the years indigenous GOP factions have scrapped for dominance. The disagreements are personal; all of the elected Republicans here are conservatives. So it's not too surprising that when incumbent Ed Davis, the former LA police chief, decided to retire, hostilities broke out anew. This time they pitted Assemblywoman Cathie Wright against former Assemblywoman Marian LaFollette. The primary was nasty. with Wright accusing LaFollette of being a carpetbagger because she had moved briefly to Orange County to be near her dying husband, even though LaFollette represented the district for 10 years in the Assembly. In return, the Davis camp, which backed LaFollette, reminded voters that it was Democrat Willie Brown who intervened with authorities when Wright's daughter got in trouble for traffic offenses. Wright finally won the struggle, collecting only 38 percent of the vote in a three-person field. Now she can expect to cruise into the Senate after beating Democrat Henry

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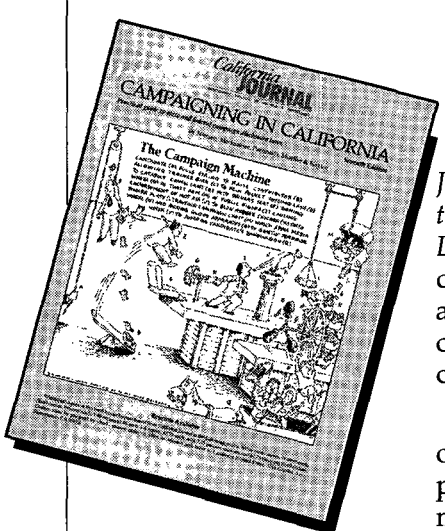

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Phillip Sarr in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 21 (43% D — 45% R) — *Democrat: Rachel J. Dewey of Pasadena. Republican: Newton R. Russell of Glendale. Libertarian: James R. "Bob" New of Glendale. Peace and Freedom: Jan B. Tucker of Toluca Lake.*

There were a few moments early this year when Newton Russell thought he might have to face Senate President pro Tem David Roberti in November. But Roberti decided to shorten his legislative tenure by two years and run instead for the district opened up with the resignation of Alan Robbins. Now Russell should have little trouble holding onto this district against the challenge of Democrat Rachel Dewey of Pasadena. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 (54% D — 34% R) — *Democrat: Tom Hayden of Santa Monica. Republican: Leonard McRoskey of Los Angeles. Libertarian: R. William Weilburg of Hollywood. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Rachel Isaacson of Los Angeles.*

Republicans initially decided to pass on this district on the west side of Los Angeles; too few Republicans here and a history of electing liberals to the Legislature. But that was when they thought that Herschel Rosenthal would be the candidate in November. Even though Rosenthal had two years left on his term, he ran for election here because reapportionment

Hayden

Hughes

had moved his even-numbered district out from under him. But reapportionment also left a shortage of Democratic districts in western LA, and the temptation proved too much for Assemblyman Tom Hayden, who had no other place to run. He decided to challenge Rosenthal, as did Catherine O'Neill, a Pacific Palisades resident who rates a historical footnote by nearly becoming the first woman elected to the state Senate when she first ran in 1972. The two of them carved up Rosenthal's votes, and Hayden just barely nipped the incumbent, collecting fewer than 600 votes more than Rosenthal when counting was completed. Republicans figured it out somewhere along the line, and three of them mounted write-in campaigns in the June primary. One, businessman Leonard McRoskey, who had been an assistant secretary of the Navy under Ronald Reagan, succeeded and will be on the ballot against the assemblyman come November. There's always plenty of money for the candidate who runs against Hayden, but chances are slim he can be defeated. So for the next two years, Hayden and Rosenthal will have the opportunity to renew old grudges while locked together on the floor of the Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 25 (74% D — 17% R) — *Democrat: Teresa Hughes of Inglewood. Republican: Cliff McClain of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Hattie Marie Benn of Los Angeles.*

Reapportionment eliminated one of the Assembly seats available to Black politicians in Los Angeles, and the loser was Teresa Hughes. But then Senator Bill Greene decided not to seek re-election, and Hughes found a new career as a senator. She had to move into the district and hold off a spirited contest from Lynwood Councilman Paul Richards. Now Hughes will be secure here for the two terms allowed her under term limits. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (46% D — 43% R) — *Democrat: Brian Finander of Long Beach. Republican: Incumbent Robert Beverly of Manhattan Beach. Libertarian: David Rosen of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Patrick McCoy of Long Beach.*

Bob Beverly, who has represented this district in the Legislature since the horse and buggy days, received a rude shock in the primary — more than half the Republicans voted for someone else. The Beverly camp lays the blame on new portions of the district added with reapportionment. But this area has also been hit very hard by job losses in the aerospace industry and a rebellion by otherwise solid Republicans is at least possible. Still, Beverly will go into the election with enormous advantages, particularly when it comes to money. Democrats may cast a glance here, but they probably will spend their cash on more winnable districts. Still, the uncertainty in the voters' minds moved this district from the solid to the leans category for Republicans. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 29 (41% D — 48% R) — *Democrat: Sandy Hester of Claremont. Republican: Incumbent Frank Hill of Whittier.*

The registration in this district along the eastern edge of Los Angeles County is solidly Republican. But Claremont's Sandy Hester believes that a pro-choice Democratic woman just might make headway against a conservative Republican whose opinion on the abortion question is vague. Furthermore, incumbent Frank Hill still has a cloud over his head stemming from the FBI's sting operation that has already brought down three senators. Hill dismisses the charges as "five years old" and he has a newly minted reputation as a legislative statesman because of his efforts to patch together a budget compromise when the rest of his colleagues were stalemated. Those efforts should do much for Hill. Still, if there should be an indictment, all bets are off. Barring that, this district is SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 31 (41% D - 48% R) — *Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard of Redlands.*

Incumbent Bill Leonard is one of the more conservative members of the state Senate. Thanks to reapportionment, his district shrank appreciably as all of Inyo County and a sizeable chunk of San Bernardino County were shifted into the 17th District. He added a small slice of Riverside County that contains a wealth of new constituents. Fortunately for Leonard, they are Republicans. And since no candidate filed to run against him, he has all the time in the world to get acquainted. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 (30% D - 59% R) — *Democrat: Samuel Eidt of Mission Viejo. Republican: Incumbent John Lewis of Or-*

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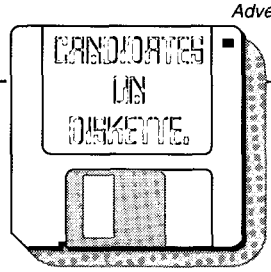

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ange. Libertarian: Doyle Guhy of Yorba Linda.

Incumbent Republican John Lewis survived a modest primary challenge from attorney Todd Thakar. Now, Democrat Samuel Eidt, a claims representative, tries his hand. Given that this Orange County district is nearly 60 percent Republican, Eidt will need a major miracle to come within 10 percent of the incumbent. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 (32% D - 56% R) — *Democrat Dorianne Garcia of Cypress. Republican: Incumbent Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Erik Sprik of Costa Mesa.*

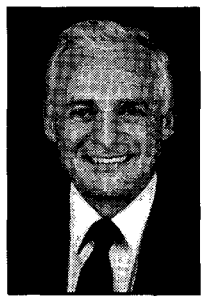
Marian Bergeson is one of the most respected members of the Legislature, and she'd probably win even a marginal district. But this is solidly Republican Orange County. So if Bergeson goes down to defeat, you'll know that voters were in a mood to bounce every incumbent in sight. Not much chance of that happening, however, and Bergeson should easily win re-election against communications specialist Dorianne Garcia. Garcia made the finals by defeating Lyndon LaRouche supporter George Hanna in June. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 37 (37% D - 49% R) — *Democrat: James Rickard of Borrego Springs. Republican: David Kelley of Idyllwild. Libertarian: Craig McElvany of Santee. Peace and Freedom: Renate Kline of Spring Valley.*

The real battle in this district took place in the Republican primary when two Assembly members faced each other across a district that sprawled into Riverside, Imperial and San Diego counties. In that primary, Dave Kelley of Riverside defeated Carol Bentley of San Diego. Kelley, a farmer who appeals to the district's strong agricultural base, did surprisingly well in the more urban areas of eastern San Diego County. Democrat Jim Rickard, a PhD scientist from Borrego Springs, had hoped that a bloody Republican primary would inflict a near-fatal wound on the winner. But Bentley ran a strangely passive campaign that damaged Kelley not at all. As a result, Rickard can only hope that voters are ready to cashier any and all incumbents. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 44% R) — *Independent: Incumbent Lucy Killea. Republican: Jim Ellis. Libertarian: John Moody. Peace and Freedom: Patricia Cofre. All of San Diego.*

The GOP has few chances to pick up extra Senate seats in 1992, and this is one of them. Thus, the 39th District race promises to be the most intense and expensive



Ellis

Killea

Senate election in Southern California. The antagonists are a former Republican state senator (Jim Ellis) and a former Democratic state senator (Lucy Killea) who still is a member of the upper house. Killea, however, is an independent, having jumped the Democratic ship earlier this year. As a Democrat, Killea repeatedly ran and won in GOP-dominated districts, both for the Assembly and Senate. District registration was about even in her old district (the 39th). But reapportionment slanted it more heavily toward the GOP, and Killea saw the Democratic label as one huge drag in 1992. Ellis, on the other hand, represented much of this area until his retirement from the Senate in 1988. He was replaced by Republican Larry Stirling, who held the slot for less than a heartbeat before resigning to take a local judgeship. Killea, who was then serving in the Assembly, replaced Stirling after winning a tough special-election campaign against GOP Assemblywoman Carol Bentley. The moderate Killea, a former councilwoman and vice-mayor, has enjoyed a long and successful political career in San Diego by attracting cross-over votes from Republicans. But the Bentley race notwithstanding, she has never faced an opponent as well regarded as is Ellis, who served in the Assembly from 1976 to 1980 when he was elected to the Senate. He last ran for the Senate in 1984 at a time when the old 39th registration mirrored the new 39th, and he won with 72 percent of the vote. Killea, on the other hand, was helped when she succeeded in keeping a Democrat off the ballot. And her campaign breathed an audible sigh of relief in June when a Democratic write-in attempt failed on behalf of Julie Pierce, an 18-year-old political tyro. In fact, the write-in effort was something of a sham, since it was the brainchild of Pierce's father, David Pierce, a hard-right conservative Republican who ran and lost in the GOP primary in the 49th Congressional District. Pierce managed 200 write-ins; she needed 2500 to get her name on the November ballot. Thus, Killea as an independent goes head-to-head with Ellis without the distraction of a nominal Democratic opponent who could have siphoned off enough votes to tip what is expected to be a close race into the GOP column. LEANS INDEPENDENT.

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SACRAMENTO NEWSLETTER

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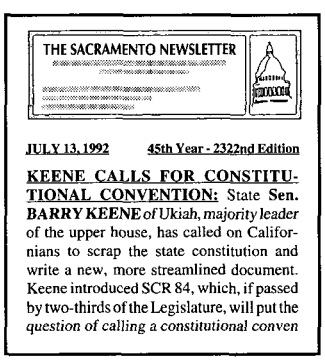
THE SACRAMENTO NEWSLETTER

JULY 13, 1992 45th Year - 232nd Edition

KEENE CALLS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: State **Sen. BARRY KEENE** of Ukiah, *majority leader* of the upper house, has called on Californians to scrap the state constitution and write a new, more streamlined document. Keene introduced SCR 84, which, if passed by two-thirds of the Legislature, will put the *question of calling a constitutional conven*

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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

ASSEMBLY

Of all branches of state government, the California Assembly will have the most extreme face lift following the 1992 elections. Retirement, the quest for higher office and defeat at the polls have ended the Assembly careers of at least 25 of the 80 members who sat in the lower house during the past two years. The list includes 13 Democrats: Tom Bane, Peter Chacon, Steve Clute and Sally Tanner retired; Xavier Becerra, Lloyd Connelly, Jerry Eaves, Tom Hayden, Teresa Hughes, Ted Lempert and Lucille Roybal-Allard ran for another office; and Dave Elder and Dick Floyd were knocked off in the same primary. Twelve Republicans have departed: Chris Chandler, Bev Hansen and Bill Lancaster retired; Bill Baker, Carol Bentley, Bill Filante, Dave Kelley, Tom McClintock, Cathie Wright and Phil Wyman ran for other offices; Nolan Frizzelle and Tom Mays also lost in the same primary. In addition, 10 other incumbents face rugged elections: Democrats Deirdre Alpert, Bob Epple, Terry Friedman, Mike Gotch, Byron Sher, Tom Umberg and John Vasconcellos; Republicans Dean Andal, Tricia Hunter and Chuck Quackenbush.

Republicans, led by Governor Pete Wilson and Minority Leader Bill Jones, have predicted that the 1992 elections could spell the end of Democratic domination of the Assembly. But while new districts drawn by the state Supreme Court have enhanced the GOP's chances for slicing into the Democrats' current 47-33 edge, chances that the GOP will capture 41 seats seem remote, at least this year.

Best estimates are that the Democrats have 32 safe seats, while eight others lean in their direction. Republicans, on the other hand, have 28 safe seats, with six leaning toward the GOP. Thus, control of the Assembly could turn on six critical districts considered "toss-ups" (3rd, 17th, 56th, 64th, 76th and 78th). Of those swing districts, four are now held by Democrats (Epple in the 56th, Gotch in the 76th, Alpert in the 78th and Clute in the 64th). The other two currently are Republican (Chandler in the 3rd and Andal in the 17th). To continue control of the Assembly, Democrats need only hold onto all of their "lean" seats and capture one "toss-up." Republicans, on the other hand, must hold all GOP "leans," take all "toss-ups," *plus* win one of the Democrats' "lean" districts — a daunting task.

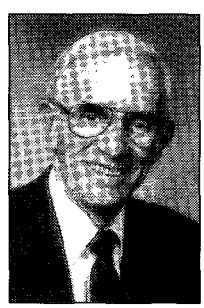
Of course, one caveat looms over all of these possibilities: Voters, who already hold the Legislature in very low esteem, could stage a wholesale slaughter of incumbents. In that case all bets are off.

Hauser

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republican: Anna Sparks of Willow Creek. Green: Margene McGee of Ukiah. Peace and Freedom: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.*

Despite an apparent margin of safety in actual registration figures, Democrats are pulling out their big ammo for this North Coast district, which is expected to be one of their toughest races this election season. Not only does the region have a history of third and fourth party defections, but incumbent Dan Hauser's work on forestry issues has alienated Sierra Club voters — who opposed a recent timber accord that he worked on — without winning over the timber industry, which may ultimately see Republican Anna Sparks as a closer ally in the timber wars. Sparks, a Humboldt County supervisor who is a former cook in a logging camp, has become strongly identified as a supporter of jobs over the environment, which could serve her well in the ailing timber counties but cost her the vote in the Sonoma portion of this district. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Hatamiya



Richter

DISTRICT 2 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: William Brashears of Redding. Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham of Oak Run.*

Without much of a race to worry about, incumbent Stan Statham can concentrate on future split-the-state initiatives. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (43% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Lon Hatamiya of Oroville. Republican: Bernie Richter of Chico. Libertarian: Vicki Vallis of Truckee.*

As a professional Marilyn Monroe impersonator, Libertarian Vicki Vallis has had far more national television exposure than her two opponents. (She's been on "A Current Affair" and "Maury Povich.") But this is sideshow to what's under the big tent: a match between Republican Bernie Richter, a video store owner and former Butte County supervisor; and Democrat Lon Hatamiya, a Harvard-educated farmer and education consultant whose family has long roots in the district. Democrats might normally shrug off a district with 43 percent GOP registration, but a couple of things have given them pause. First, in 1990 Hatamiya ran a strong campaign against an incumbent, Assemblyman Chris Chandler, and received 46 percent of the vote when Democratic

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registration was 43 percent. Reapportionment has since removed some of the "trouble spots" in Colusa and Butte counties where Hatamiya didn't do as well, and instead of running against Chandler, who's retired, he faces Richter, an anti-abortion conservative who was an upset winner in a large field of moderates. Richter, who writes his own ads for his video store, refers to himself as "Crazy Bernie," and few dispute him. He has a long-standing reputation as a loose canon, but his campaign consultant says that Richter's frankness is an asset. In recent weeks, he's been railing at Hatamiya's ballot designation as a farmer and businessman, saying he's really a lawyer and lobbyist. Hatamiya's own rhetoric mills counter that Richter is a porn-peddler, since his video store has a stock of soft-porn films. Some of the area farm bureaus, which typically back Republicans, have supported Hatamiya. That just adds spice to an interesting brew. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 4 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Mark Norberg of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent David Knowles of Cameron Park. Libertarian: Gary Hines of Angels Camp.*

Incumbent David Knowles, who had no primary opponent, won't have any trouble holding onto this Mother Lode district seat against David Norberg, an encyclopedia sales manager. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 (46% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Joan Barry of Fair Oaks. Republican: Incumbent B.T. Collins of Carmichael.*

The main excitement in this race came before the primary, when incumbent B.T. Collins faced a rematch with Christian-right candidate Barbara Alby, whom he defeated last year in a special election by about 700 votes. Collins defeated Alby 52 percent to 48 percent in June, and now faces Joan Barry, a social worker who founded Serve Our Seniors, an organization that provides low-cost meals to the elderly. Barry has criticized Collins for changing his ballot designation from "Member of the Assembly" to a blank space, accusing him of trying to hoodwink voters. But the incumbent's spokeswoman replied that if voters didn't already know that Collins was an incumbent, "his feelings would be hurt." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 (53% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Vivien Bronshvag of Kentfield. Republican: Albert Aramburu of Tiburon. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily.*

Interior decorator Vivien Bronshvag trounced her three male opponents in the primary, and now she can take heart from a local newspaper poll published in mid-September showing she leads Marin County Supervisor Al Aramburu by 18 points. Aramburu, a Republican, is a member of the Hispanic Supervisors Caucus and a contractor with the state Lottery. He is trying to take over the reins from the area's seven-term GOP Assemblyman Bill Filante, who now is running for Congress. But he made an anemic showing in the primary, getting 52 percent to his little-known opponent's 48 percent. And he can't count on the Democratic cross-over vote from Marin's Jewish community that Filante had, since Bronshvag, who is on the National Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress, is likely to convince them to vote for her. Aramburu does, however, have the support of the environmental community, and the former executive director of the national Sierra Club appeared recently at one of his events. He is a director of the Bay Area Air Quality Management District and a commissioner on the Bay Conservation and Development Commission, and his supporters note that Bronshvag's environmental credentials are, by comparison, slim at best. But Bronshvag's own list of endorsements, including U.S. Senate candidate Barbara Boxer, Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin and state Treasurer Kathleen Brown, hasn't hurt her at all, nor do her own deep pockets: She dug deeply into

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her purse before the primary, spending more than $250,000 (nearly four times the total her primary opponents raised). Aramburu has endorsements from a number of local Democrats, including Betsy Cutler, the vice mayor of Mill Valley, and former Assemblyman Mike Warnum. But these and his lackluster campaigning probably won't pull him within range of Bronshvag. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Brown

Nicholas

DISTRICT 7 (54%D - 34%R) — *Democrat: Valerie Brown of Sonoma. Republican: Janet Nicholas of Sonoma. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Glen Ellen.*

This is the seat that GOP Assemblywoman Bev Hansen decided to abandon once reapportionment turned it into a long shot for any Republican, even a popular and effective one such as Hansen. Rushing in to fill the void on the Democratic side were Sonoma Vice Mayor Valerie Brown, former Vallejo Mayor Terry Curtola and Napa teacher Ernest Demuth. After a bruising primary, Brown conquered Curtola 62 percent to 28 percent, with Demuth trailing way behind. Brown now faces an even tougher opponent in Janet Nicholas, a former Sonoma County supervisor who owns and operates a small vineyard and was Governor Pete Wilson's appointee to the state Board of Prison Terms. Nicholas, who left the Board of Supervisors to be on the Prison Terms board, has been endorsed by Hansen, Sonoma County District Attorney Gene Tunney and the California Farm Bureau, along with local Democrats, including Demuth. Brown's endorsements include the teachers' union, the Sierra Club and California NOW. Democrats can smell victory here, but they know they'll have to work hard to get it. A Democratic registration drive already has signed up 8000 more Democrats in Vallejo alone. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (51% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Thomas Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: John Ford of Dixon. Libertarian: Richard Fields of Davis.*

In a replay of the 1990 election, seven-term incumbent Tom Hannigan, the Assembly majority leader, will face agricultural adviser John Ford, with predictable results. But now that reapportionment has moved the district further

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up the valley, a race here could be competitive once Hannigan leaves. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (65% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Phillip Isenberg of Sacramento. Republican: David Reade of Sacramento. Green: Richard Geiselhart of Sacramento.*

This is a solidly Democratic district that will return five-term incumbent Phil Isenberg to the Capitol. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Albiani

Bowler

DISTRICT 10 (46% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Katherine Albiani of Elk Grove of Sacramento. Republican: Larry Bowler of Elk Grove. American Independent: Stephen Delany of Sacramento. Libertarian: Joseph Farina of Sacramento.*

Elk Grove school board member Kay Albiani has been trying awfully hard to find the "safe center" in her race against ultra-right Republican Larry Bowler. First, she blew off the endorsement process of women's groups such as NOW, not even troubling to fill out their questionnaires. Then, she insulted loyal Democrats by becoming the state's first major party nominee to jump on the Ross Perot bandwagon, stoically acknowledging that this might mean she wouldn't be part of the united Democratic campaign. (Never mind that these innovative strategies either came from, or happened with the blessings of, veteran Democratic campaign consultant Richie Ross.) But all these moves probably are irrelevant in a district that has a healthy supply of Republican voters. And these voters selected Sacramento Sheriff's Lieutenant Larry Bowler, an anti-abortion candidate who was farthest to the right in a primary field of five. Democrats say Bowler is a "flawed" candidate because, when he ran against Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg in 1988, he was a police captain and now has been busted down to lieutenant as a result of an investigation into allegations that he sexually harrassed a subordinate. (Bowler, a 30-year veteran in law enforcement, says the job transfer came after making a remark about a woman's unkempt appearance, and that he wasn't shipped off to Siberia but is commander of the department's night watch.) In any case, Bowler's Republican opponents brought all this up before the primary, but that didn't prevent him from slam-dunking them, leading his closest rival by 28 percentage points. Bowler's got a proven track record as a hearty campaigner, and he has Republican hopes high because in the race against Isenberg he got an impressive 43 percent of the vote in a district that was just 34 percent Republican, and raised a cool $700,000 compared to Isenberg's $1 million. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 11 (54% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Robert Campbell of Martinez.*

It's getting nasty around here. Anti-incumbent fever has infected the crowd. Watch out, Bob. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 12 (61% D - 21% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent John Burton. Republican: Storm Jenkins. Libertarian: Anton Sherwood. Peace and Freedom: Kitty Reese. All are from San Francisco.*

For all his trouble trying to knock incumbent John Burton's name off the ballot, Republican Storm Jenkins can't count on a landslide win here. Or even a little one. Jenkins, a 31-year-old businessman, claims that Burton doesn't meet state residencey requirements for seeking office. But a Superior Court judge ruled that it was beyond the court's jurisdiction to rule on a member's qualifications. That, the judge said, is up to the Assembly or to voters. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (64% D - 16% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Willie Brown Jr. Republican: John Sidline. Libertarian: Mark Valverde of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Walter Medina . All are from San Francisco.*

Willie Brown will return for another term in the Assembly, but whether he'll continue as speaker will be determined elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (70% D - 14% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Berkeley. Peace and Freedom: Marsha Feinland of Alameda.*

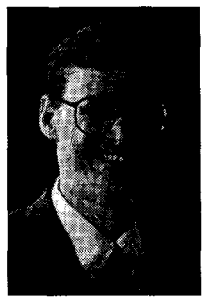
This'll be a white-knuckle ride for Tom Bates. Hold onto your hat, Tom. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 49% R) — *Democrats: Charles Brydon of Danville. Republican: Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek.*

Democrats have all but given up on this seat in the conservative, mostly white communities of the East Bay, especially since the Republican candidate is popular Contra Costa Sheriff Richard Rainey. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (69% D - 17% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee. Republican: David Anderson of Piedmont. Peace and Freedom: Emma Mar of Oakland.*

Barbara Lee, a former staffer for area Congressman Ron Dellums, ran unopposed in the primary for this district that covers most of Oakland and all of the City of Alameda, and she faces only token opposition in the fall. SAFE DEMOCRATIC



Andal

Machado

DISTRICT 17 (55% D - 35% R) — *Democrat Michael Machado of Linden. Republican: Incumbent Dean Andal of Stockton.*

What do you say besides "oops" when you're the former president and a long-time member of the San Joaquin County Farm Bureau and then the bureau not only doesn't decide to back you, it backs your opponent? That happened to farmer Michael Machado, the hand-picked candidate of the Democrats for this Central Valley seat. But that's nothing compared to what incumbent Dean Andal, who won this seat in a special election in 1991, is having to explain. Machado and his wife have accused Andal of hiring someone to spy on the Machados' kids. Andal insists that he had nothing to do with a would-be political consultant who was sniffing around the school that Machado's children attended. But the Machados, who hired a private detective of their own, were told by the man that he was doing the research for Andal's campaign. All this must be nerve-wracking to the very conservative Andal, who already has a difficult district, where GOP registration is just 36 percent. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 18 (59% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klehs of San Leandro. Republican: Don Grundmann of San Leandro. Libertarian: Terry Floyd of San Leandro.*

Even though reapportionment took away part of the City of Oakland, this district remains solidly Democratic, a happy state of affairs for incumbent Johan Klehs. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (54% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Jackie Speier of Burlingame. Republican: Ellyne Berger of Hillsborough.*

This is another solidly Democratic district that will return Assemblywoman

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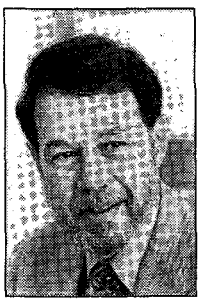
Jackie Speier to Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (51% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Delaine Eastin of Fremont. Republican: Lindy Batara of Fremont.*

The real action in this race took place in the primary, when four Republicans battled each other for nothing less than "the soul of the Republican Party," as one of them put it. That battle fought and won, we suppose, the only remaining question — OK, it's not quite as lofty — is how much will Delaine Eastin get? She got 100 percent in 1990. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

La Fetra

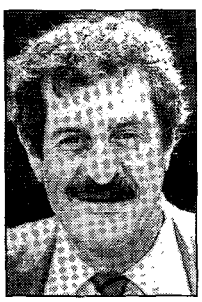


Sher

DISTRICT 21 (48% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher. Republican: Jan La Fetra of Menlo Park. Libertarian: Lyn Sapowsky-Smith of Redwood City.*

Reapportionment cost Democrats their edge in this affluent South Bay district, which used to have 54 percent Democratic registration. But incumbent Byron Sher, the author of landmark environmental laws (including the California Clean Air Act and the Integrated Waste Management Act) is well-liked in this environmentally conscious region. But so is his opponent, former Menlo Park Mayor Jan La Fetra, and Democrats have placed this race on their "watch" list. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Jeffries



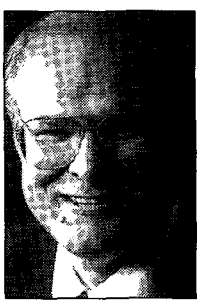
Vasconcellos

DISTRICT 22 (48% D - 37% R) — *Democrat. Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republican: Tim Jeffries of Santa Clara. Libertarian: Bob Goodwyn of Sunnyvale.*

Republicans are licking their chops over this district, where Democrats lost big-time from reapportionment. Thirteen-term incumbent John Vasconcellos used to enjoy 60 percent friendly registration; now it's down to 48 percent. That means that Vasconcellos, who's chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee and second in seniority only to the speaker, is in for his toughest fight in more than a decade. Santa Clara Councilman Tim Jeffries may look forward to getting some notable help from Republicans, who have placed this district on their list of high-priority races. But Vasconcellos isn't going to give in easily, and he's never been as motivated as he is now. Still, Jeffries, a 29-year-old salesman for an electronics firm, is sounding the theme that the incumbent has been in office too long. He is pro-choice but also takes a pro-business stance on the economy, which might be a message voters here want to hear. But his attempts to blame Vasconcellos for the state's record budget impasse, and for admitting that he didn't know how to solve the state's financial problems, fell flat. Republicans will have to come up with a stronger candidate to unseat the avuncular Vasconcellos, who drew national attention a few years ago for his plan to make self-esteem a civic priority. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 23 (61% D - 25% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Dominic Cortese of San Jose. Republican: Monica Valladares of San Jose.*

This is a safe seat for Democrats, made even safer by reapportionment. SAFE DEMOCRATIC



Beall

Quackenbush

DISTRICT 24 (43% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: James Beall Jr. of San Jose. Republican: Incumbent Charles Quackenbush of San Jose. Libertarian: James Ludemann of Los Gatos.*

Incumbent Charles Quackenbush lost some of the conservative portions of his old district in the heart of the Silicon Valley, but he still has a pretty strong grip here. Still, Democrat James Beall, a 12-year veteran of the San Jose City Council, has a good record on transportation and the environment (he is chair of the Santa Clara County Traffic Authority) and has been out walking precincts five days a week. He also is getting some help from the Democratic Party, which has put this seat on its "we want" list. But Beall would have to tap into a very strong current of anti-incumbency to win this seat, and Quackenbush, who's having Governor Pete Wilson headline a fund raiser for him at the end of September, doesn't plan to have it slip away. LEANS REPUBLICAN

Keating-Edh

Snyder

DISTRICT 25 (48% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Margaret Snyder of Modesto. Republican: Barbara Keating-Edh of Modesto.*

The ultra-right scored another big victory in this San Joaquin Valley-based district with Barbara Keating-Edh, who bested five male candidates in the primary. Keating-Edh (who has adopted the last names of her deceased first husband and of her current husband), is the founder of Consumer Alert, a pro-business organization promoting fewer regulations in the marketplace. She is running against Democrat Margaret Snyder, a Modesto school board member who is as firmly pro-choice as Keating-Edh is anti-choice. Democrats concede that Keating-Edh is articulate and intelligent, but will try to convince voters she's a right-wing nut. Snyder, they're saying, better represents the district, and, as a long-time community activist (she was named "Woman of the Year" by the Stanislaus County Commission on Women), has a better feel for it. But Keating-Edh has the advantages of high Republican registration in this district, experience in public speaking and familiarity with the operations of a national organization, all of which will work to her advantage if the race comes down to the wire. Both Republicans and Democrats view this as a high-priority race. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 (55% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Salvatore Cannella of Modesto. Republican: Scott Weimer of Atwater. Libertarian: Robert Parks of Hughson.*

Sal Cannella's Republican opponent, Atwater City Councilman Scott Weimer, will keep him occupied this fall, but won't keep him busy enough to give him fits. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (50% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: Susan Whitman of Pacific Grove. Peace and Freedom: David*

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Lucier of Santa Cruz.

Democrats hold just over 50 percent of the registration in this district along the Central Coast near Santa Cruz. But independents here tend to be liberals, and that should make things cozy for six-term incumbent Sam Farr, even in an anti-incumbent, pro-woman year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (51% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Rusty Areias of San Jose. Republican: Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos.*

Incumbent Rusty Areias nearly blew it last March when he and his staff failed to turn in the required number of nominating signatures to the county by the deadline. But a forgiving (and Democratic) secretary of state let him off the hook. Areias, who moved from his Los Banos home in order to live in his new district, handily defeated a Democratic challenger in the primary and hasn't much appreciated the unusual campaign of his Republican opponent, Peter Frusetta. The Stanford-educated, third-generation cattle rancher has been making creative use of his horse's by-products to make the point that incumbents should be dumped. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 29 (45% D - 45% R) — *Republican: Incumbent Bill Jones of Fresno.*

Incumbent Bill Jones, who has been minority leader of the Assembly since last August, is on easy street as far as his election is concerned. But he might have a few other things to worry about, such as a possible coup by conservatives after the election. Seems those guys were angry at him for committing a tactical error during the lengthy budget negotiations when he allowed the main budget bill to pass separately from the trailer bills. That in turn enabled lawmakers to amend the trailer bills and to pressure Governor Wilson to sign them. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 30 (58% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent James Costa of Hanford. Republican: Gerald Hurt of Hanford.*

Seven-term incumbent Jim Costa faces an old foe in aircraft mechanic Gerald Hurt in this southwestern San Joaquin Valley district. Hurt should hang on to his day job. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (64% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bruce Bronzan of Fresno.*

Bruce Bronzan, elected in 1982, is chairman of the powerful Assembly Health Committee. This is the second election in a row he hasn't had a challenger. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (43% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Irma Carson of Bakersfield. Republican: Incumbent Trice Harvey of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Jeffrey Laing of Bakersfield.*

This district is the only one in the San Joaquin Valley that is solidly Republican, and is where Dianne Feinstein got just 35 percent of the vote. Trice Harvey, therefore, will stomp Democratic challenger Irma Carson, a retired police officer. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: John Ashbaugh. Republican: Incumbent Andrea Seastrand. Libertarian: Steve McClenathan. All of San Luis Obispo.*

A rock-solid GOP district along the coast in San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara counties. Incumbent Andrea Seastrand succeeded her late husband, Eric, in 1990 and won't soon be turned out by a Democrat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 (39% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Joe Green of Tehachapi. Republican: Kathleen Honeycutt of Hesperia.*

The 34th District sprawls up the Nevada border from Riverside County to Mono County, taking in Inyo and most of San Bernardino counties, then juts west to sheer off southern Kern County. Along the way, it covers more ground than any other Assembly district in California. And for the next two years, the job of representing all this sagebrush, desert cacti, sequoias and mountain crags will belong to Republican Kathleen Honeycutt. The conservative Hesperia native won that right in June when she blistered through the primary, attracting nearly 50 percent of the vote in a nine-candidate GOP field. Honeycutt, a conservative, organized early, lining up heavy financial support from gun owners, anti-abortion activists and anti-tax groups. Her primary opponents were hampered by a lack of campaign swag and by geography — the population is focused in widely scattered population centers. The largest chunk of voters lives in the Victor Valley section of San Bernardino County, as does Honeycutt. On the other hand, Democrat Joe Green, a real estate appraiser, hails from Kern County, where less than half of district voters live. And those who do live there tend to register Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 (43% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of Carpenteria. Republican: Alan Ebenstein of Santa Barbara.*

By registration, this is a Republican district. But environmental concerns along the Santa Barbara coast have made this area tough sledding for legislative Republicans. First Gary Hart, who moved to the state Senate, and now Jack O'Connell, both Democrats, have represented the

O'Connell

area. The charges leveled against some incumbents, that they ignore their districts, can't be leveled at O'Connell. He works the area hard, even when he's not up for re-election. And now is when it pays off. Although Democrats are keeping a wary eye out for a sneak attack, so far Republican challenger Alan Ebenstein shows few signs of being able to launch one. He's raised only $35,000 so far, and it's nearly all his own money. Still, those registration figures are tempting, very tempting. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 36 (34% D - 54% R) — *Democrat: Arnie Rodio of Lancaster. Republican: William J. "Pete" Knight of Palmdale. Libertarian: Ronald Tisbert of Palmdale.*

The contest here was all in the Republican primary where eight from the GOP contested for this new seat in northern Los Angeles County. The most experienced politician in that contest was Hunt Braly, who was chief of staff to Senator Ed Davis. But Braly had to move into the district to make the run and the people here, who have long wanted their own seat in the Legislature, turned to a home-grown product, Pete Knight, the former mayor of Palmdale. Lancaster Councilman Arnie Rodio promises to run a fiesty campaign. But his longshot hope of winning was dashed when Braly lost. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 37 (40% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Rosalind McGrath of Camarillo. Republican: Nao Takasugi of Oxnard. Libertarian: David Harner of Newbury Park.*

Republicans fought mightly for this district, vacated by Assemblyman Tom McClintock, who decided to run for Congress. Hard-core conservatives backed Alan Guggenheim, a naturalized citizen who left his native France when a Socialist government took control. Instead, district Republicans turned to moderate Oxnard Mayor Nao Takasugi, a Japanese-American who was interned in a relocation camp during World War II. Teacher and farm manager Roz McGrath has little chance of winning here, which means Takasugi will be the first Asian in the Legislature in a dozen years. SAFE REPUBLICAN

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DISTRICT 38 (40% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Howard Cohen of North Hills. Republican: Incumbent Paula Boland of Northridge. Libertarian: Devin Cutler of Canoga Park.*

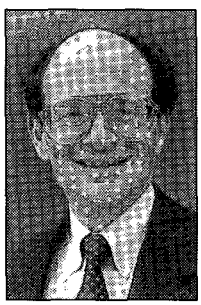
This is Republican territory in the northwest corner of the San Fernando Valley. Democrats, with the exception of the one on the ballot, Howard Cohen, have conceded this district to incumbent Paula Boland. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (60% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Sylmar. Republican: Nicholas Fitzgerald of Panorama City. Libertarian: David H. Geroge of North Hollywood.*

The core of the San Fernando Valley is Democratic and heavily Latino. But the Latinos here do not vote in great numbers, and the district has been a congenial home for Assemblyman Richard Katz. Indeed, so secure is Katz here that he has begun to turn his sights toward next year, when he likely will run for mayor of Los Angeles. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 40 (54% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Friedman of Los Angeles. Republican: Horace Heidt of Sherman Oaks. Libertarian: John Vernon of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: Jean Glasser of Van Nuys. Green: Glenn Bailey of Sherman Oaks.*

Reapportionment initially left first-term Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman without a district. Then Assemblyman Tom Bane came to her aid by deciding not to run for re-election. Friedman was prepared to run against Republican Pat Nolan in the district next door. But with Bane's withdrawal, she quickly moved to this San Fernando Valley district and held off three primary challengers to win the nomination. Now, with women doing well in most races, she should win here with little trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC



T. Friedman

Reed

DISTRICT 41 (49% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Terry Friedman of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Christine Reed of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Roy Sykes Jr. of Woodland Hills.*

This district crosses the Santa Monica Mountains to include both the city of Santa Monica and the wealthier suburbs of the western San Fernando Valley such as Woodland Hills. Democrats hold a plurality of the vote here, and the district, in somewhat different form, has been represented by liberal Terry Friedman. The new district is less hospitable, though, and this year he faces a formidable challenge from former Santa Monica Councilwoman Christine Reed, a moderate who has managed to keep lines open to all factions in politically divided Santa Monica. Reed, in a year when women seem to enjoy an advantage, just might be capable of mounting a serious challenge. The good news for Friedman is that his patrons in the political machine run by Congressmen Howard Berman and Henry Waxman don't have too many other places to strain their resources. Of course, this is the same Berman-Waxman who backed primary losers such as Mel Levine and Lynn Dymally. If their luck and lack of skill run true to form, they just might punt this one for Friedman, too. Most likely, Friedman's hard work in the district, and the regaining of Jewish Republican voters from the Valley, should bring home a Friedman victory. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Continued on next page

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DISTRICT 42 (58% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Burt Margolin of Los Angeles. Republican: Robert Davis of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Andrew Rotter of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Timothy Burdick of Los Angeles.*

The really good Democratic district on the west side of Los Angeles went to Burt Margolin, who has been occupied full-time in the Legislature trying to find an acceptable way to reform the state's workers' compensation program. It's an issue that should remain high-profile through the election campaign, and Margolin's hard work, although so far without results, should help him. But even if Margolin hadn't done anything at all for the past two years, there's not much chance he could lose here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 43 (42% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Elliott Graham of Glendale. Republican: Incumbent Pat Nolan of Glendale. Libertarian: Anthony Bajada of Los Angeles.*

Pat Nolan dodged one big bullet this spring when Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman was able to run in the district vacated by Assemblyman Tom Bane. Friedman is a tireless campaigner who no doubt would have made much of the fact that Nolan is still under investigation for taking money from an undercover FBI agent in that agency's Capitol sting operation. The scandal forced Nolan to give up his position as Assembly minority leader, and his fellow conservatives eventually lost control of the leadership to moderates backed by Pete Wilson. That leaves to Nolan the role of behind-the-scenes gadfly who still wields considerable clout inside the Assembly GOP caucus. Still, Friedman has moved on, and the FBI hasn't been heard from in awhile. So barring an indictment, Nolan should have little trouble winning re-election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 44 (43% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Johnathan Fuhrman of Pasadena. Republican: William Hoge of Pasadena. Ken Saurenman of Pasadena.*

This new district encompasses the communities at the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains. It's solid Republican territory, and a bumper crop of 10 from the GOP decided to run. The winner was the candidate backed by the party's conservative wing, Pasadena businessman William Hoge, who captured just a third of the district's vote. In the process, he beat moderate Barbara Peiper, who was running with the support of Governor Pete Wilson. Democrats wrote off this district before the primary, and Pasadena's Johnathan Fuhrman will have to go it alone until November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 45 (61% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Richard Polanco of Los Angeles. Republican: Kitty Hedrick of Los Angeles: Peace and Freedom: J. Luis Gomez of Los Angeles.*

Assemblyman Richard Polanco had a very busy primary season, although nearly all his activity was in some other district. Secure in his own home base, he dabbled, with mixed results, in the other Latino district contests throughout the Los Angeles area. In the process, he's become one of the major players in the region's growing Latino political power base. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 46 (64% D - 22% R) — *Democrat: Louis Caldera of Los Angeles. Republican: David Osborne of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Michael Everling of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Casey Peters of Los Angeles.*

Voters in this district were blessed with bright, talented candidates seeking the Democratic nomination in a seat that came open when Lucille Roybal-Allard decided to run for Congress. Assemblyman Richard Polanco, along with state Senator Art Torres and LA Councilman Richard Alatorre, waded in on behalf of deputy county counsel Louis Caldera, who received his undergraduate degree from West Point and his law degree from Harvard. His major opponent was Berta Saavedra, who was Roybal-Allard's district deputy and also had the support of LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina. Caldera won with 52 percent of the vote and now should be safe here as long as term limits allow. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 47 (74% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Gwen Moore of Los Angeles. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Chuck Hammill of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Yassin Saededdin of Los Angeles.*

This is one of the most Democratic Assembly districts in the state around the Culver City and Crenshaw areas. And it's safe for incumbent Gwen Moore. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 48 (87% D - 5% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson of Los Angeles. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles.*

Is Jonathan Leonard running in two districts? Nope, the candidates in the 47th and 48th are the halfs of a father-son team of windmill-tilters who apparently like to be Republicans in disticts where there are nothing but Democrats. Indeed, if they both lived in the 48th, they would come close to doubling the Republican registration, in this, the most heavily Democratic district in the state. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 49 (59% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Diane Martinez of Monterey Park. Republican: Sophie Wong of Monterey Park. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Rosemead.*

The second time was a charm for Diane Martinez, daughter of Congressman Marty Martinez. Two years ago she was defeated by Xavier Becerra, now on his way to Congress, in her first attempt to win an Assembly seat. This time, with the backing of Assemblyman Richard Polanco and the Berman-Waxman political operation that also helps her father, she's won the nomination in this district east of downtown Los Angeles. She should be safe here, but Republican Sophie Wong, a member of the local school board, is putting up a strong campaign. In addition, almost 30 percent of the voters here are Asian. Still, Wong has a very, very long way to go. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 50 (66% D — 22% R) — *Democrat: Martha Escutia of Huntington Park. Republican: Gladys Miller of Huntington Park.*

This is another district where competing Latino factions went head-to-head, again with attractive candidates offered by each side. The victory here went to the Polanco-Torres-Alatorre faction, which backed non-profit organization executive Martha Escutia, who beat businesswoman Pat Acosta, who was running with the support of LA Supervisor Gloria Molina. With the primary over, the district is SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (70% D - 20% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Curtis Tucker Jr. of Inglewood. Libertarian: Clark Hanley of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Xenia Williams of Inglewood.*

No Republican bothered to sign up in this district represented by Curtis Tucker Jr. His father held the seat before him. The only question now: Is there a Curtis Tucker III? And will he be 21 in four years when term limits kick in? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 52 (79% D - 12% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Willard Murray of Paramount.*

The contest here was all in the primary, when incumbent Willard Murray got quite a good scare, collecting only 45 percent of the vote. Fortunately for him, the opposition was split between two challengers. Now he has a free ride back to Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 53 (42% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Debra Bowen of Marina del Rey. Republican: Brad Parton of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: William Gaillard of Redondo Beach. Green: Roger Donaldson of Redondo Beach.*

This is a new district opened up along the Los Angeles County coast by reapportionment, and Republicans feel that it should belong to them. In a normal year, there probably wouldn't be much

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Bowen

Parton

question about it. But things aren't normal this year. This area, which includes the Southern California Coast from Venice to Torrance, has been hard-hit by defense spending cutbacks. Furthermore, voters here are more responsive to environmental questions than Republicans in other parts of the state. That, along with the fact that Democrats have fielded a woman lawyer who's a strong campaigner, leads them to believe they just might pull this one away from Republicans. They are helped by the fact that the Republicans nominated the most conservative of the half-dozen candidates who were in the contest — Brad Parton, the Redondo Beach mayor. It gives voters here a clear choice, but for Democrats, it's still campaigning into the wind. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 54 (43% D - 45% D) — *Democrat: Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republican: Incumbent Gerald Felando of San Pedro. American Independent: Joseph Fields of San Pedro.*

Assemblyman Gerald Felando has represented this district on the southern half of the Palos Verdes Peninsula for the past 14 years. It's still a solid Republican district and there isn't much reason to think it won't stay that way. One possible strange twist, though. There is an American Independent Party candiate on the ballot, and that party has received a rush of registrants, apparently from people under the mistaken believe that the conservative party has something to do with Ross Perot. It just might pull a substantial number of votes on Election Day. But it's not clear if Democrats or Republicans will be hurt by that so this district is still SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 55 (68% D - 21% R) — *Democrat: Juanita McDonald of Carson. Libertarian: Shannon Anderson of Long Beach.*

The Supreme Court's special masters put all the Democrats in southern Los Angeles County in this one district, and two incumbent Democrats, Dick Floyd and Dave Elder, fought for the right to represent it. They both lost, and instead the district will be represented by Juanita McDonald, a councilwoman from Carson. There's no Republican in the race, but Floyd is already making noises about a comeback two years from now. Says McDonald of Floyd: "He doesn't know that his time has come and gone." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Epple

Hawkins

DISTRICT 56 (49% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bob Epple of Cerritos. Republican: Phillip Hawkins of of Cerritos. Libertarian: Richard Gard of Bellflower.*

This may be the bloodiest battleground in the Assembly partisan wars this year. Four-year Assemblyman Bob Epple moved into this district to avoid having to run in a district that's predominantly Latino. Although he represented some of the area in the past, much is new to him. This is a working-class district where Democrats as well as Republicans gravitated to the appeal of Ronald Reagan. But Democrats argue that times have changed and these swing voters are now changing their direction. Republicans have fielded real-estate broker Phillip Hawkins, who won a primary over Norwalk resident Daniel Wong. Epple is moderate by Assembly Democratic standards, but Republicans will paint him as liberal. Democrats, in turn will paint Hawkins as a denizen of the far-right. Hunker down and enjoy the fight. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 57 (56% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Hilda Solis of El Monte. Republican: Gary Woods of Pasadena. Libertarian: Bruce Dovner of Whittier.*

This was another hard-fought primary contest between Democratic Latino factions, this time in a district that includes Azusa, Baldwin Park, El Monte and La Puente. This area had been represented by Assemblywoman Sally Tanner, who decided to retire this year. This time the faction headed by LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina found success with Rio Hondo college trustee Hilda Solis. She collected just under 50 percent of the vote while holding back two challengers. This district does not have the heavy partisan imbalance that marks most of the ethnic districts in Los Angeles. Still, it's a longshot for Republican Gary Woods. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (63% D - 28% R) — *Democrat: Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Ken Gow of Whittier. Libertarian: John McCready of Whittier.*

Grace Napolitano was one of the few candidates in contested primaries to have the official backing of the Assembly Democratic caucus. It also didn't hurt that she could put $100,000 of her own money into the campaign for a district that includes Norwalk, Montebello and Pico Rivera as well as the western edge of Whittier. She held back attorney Armando Duron, who had LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina's backing. Napolitano will have an easy time winning in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 59 (39% D - 50% R) — *Democrat: Louise Gelber of Arcadia. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia.*

Women will have to do much, much, much better than anyone imagined for Dick Mountjoy to lose this seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 60 (43% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Stan Caress of West Covina. Republican: Incumbent Paul Horcher of Diamond Bar. American Independent: Robert Lewis of Rowland Heights.*

Incumbent Paul Horcher only collected 57 percent of the vote in the primary, probably because he had a woman running against him. But Horcher, one of the more moderate members of an increasingly conservative Assembly GOP caucus, has no such problem in November. If he has any worry, it's an American Independent Party candiate on the ticket. Registration for that party has been rising rapidly because voters apparently have the mistaken belief the conservative AIP has something to do with Ross Perot. Should AIPer Robert Lewis draw a substantial number of disaffected Republicans, maybe, just maybe, a Democrat could squeeze past here. But, there are a few too many hypotheticals in this paragraph to make this district anything but SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 61 (45% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Larry Simcoe of Chino. Republican: Fred Aguiar of Chino. Green: Cynthia Allaire of Pomona.*

Fred Aguiar has the best of all worlds. First, he's a Republican in a district where voters tend to be conservative and Republican. Second, he's the mayor of Chino, which sits dead center in the middle of the district. Third, he's a former Democrat who switched parties three years ago and has attracted endorsements from district Democrats — including Bob Erwin, who ran in the June Democratic primary. And fourth, he has an Hispanic-sounding name (he's Portugese) in a district that was tailored for Hispanics, who make up 42 percent of the population. That may prove especially important in the 13 percent of

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the district that lies inside Los Angeles County and that includes Hispanic portions of Pomona. Fifth, he's been endorsed by fire associations throughout the district, including three of the four members who serve on a fire district board with his Democratic opponent — Larry Simcoe. Sixth, he's raised a ton of money, including $70,000 at a September fund raiser that featured Gayle Wilson. All this adds up to real trouble for Simcoe, a firefighter by trade. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 62 (58% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Steve Hall of Fontana. Libertarian: Ethel Haas of Fontana.*

Joe Baca has been trying to join the Legislature since 1988, but incumbent Democrat Gerry Eaves kept knocking him off in primaries. This year, Eaves obligingly got out of the way, choosing instead to run for the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors. Thus, Baca now has his best shot. A community college trustee known for slash-and-burn political campaigns, Baca won a tough primary in June over, among others, Rialto Mayor John Longville and college trustee Lois Carson. With Democrats enjoying a 25 percent registration bulge, Baca is considered the favorite to win in November. But the election won't be a cakewalk. Republican Steve Hall, a firefighter who lost to Eaves in 1990, has high name recognition throughout the district. Hall, however, is hampered by a lack of cash and has been having trouble getting contributors to look past bad GOP voter-registration numbers. He's budgeted about $50,000 for the campaign, about one-fifth of Baca's reported war chest. In addition, Baca has alienated some voters over the years with attack-dog campaign tactics that often hammer at his opponents' personal lives. Although Baca is Hispanic in a 39-percent Hispanic district, some Latino leaders reportedly have defected to Hall, as have some area Democrats. But not enough area Democrats to derail Baca's campaign train. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 50% R) — *Democrat: Larry Westwood of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jim Brulte of Alto Loma. Green: Joseph Desist of Fontana.*

Although only a freshman, incumbent Republican Jim Brulte has been mentioned now and then as a possible choice for minority leader when the new Legislature convenes in December. If that be the case, Brulte should have plenty of time to organize his forces because nothing in this election will distract him. The district itself lies south of the San Gabriel Mountains in San Bernardino County and is two-thirds white in raw population and even more in registered voters. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Carney

Weggeland

DISTRICT 64 (45% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Jane Carney. Republican: Ted Weggeland. Libertarian: Jane Henson. All of Riverside.*

On the surface, this Riverside County district looks like a snap for a Republican. Dead-even voter registration usually means fairly solid GOP territory, a conventional wisdom not lost on the area's nominal incumbent — Democrat Steve Clute — who figured he'd have a better shot elsewhere and moved down Palm Springs way to run in the 80th District before dropping out altogether. But Assembly districts like this can be won by Democrats; witness Jack O'Connell's success in Santa Barbara and Lucy Killea's string of victories in San Diego during the 1980s. It takes a candidate able to attract cross-over votes and woo independents, and Democrats think they have just such a candidate in Jane Carney. The 49-year-old attorney is president of the local bar association, past president of the Riverside Downtown Association and a member of the local chamber of commerce board — all of which give her ample contacts with the area's business community, hard hit by cutbacks in the aerospace industry. The business climate is an important issue, and Carney and her Republican opponent — Ted Weggeland, 28 — have been squabbling over just which one of them will be best for biz. Weggeland's ballot designation lists him as a businessman, but in fact he has spent the bulk of his professional career in politics, most recently as an aide to area Congressman Al McCandless. Weggeland, also an attorney by training, proved himself a formidable campaigner by scoring a convincing win against three other Republicans in June, including conservative Cook Barela. Both Carney and Weggeland have raised in excess of $100,000, with Carney slightly ahead in coinage through the end of July. Carney also has two other assets that Weggeland will not be able to match. First is the support of the area's popular state senator, Bob Presley, who is actively involved in Carney's campaign. The second is gender. Women candidates did extremely well in the June primary throughout the Inland Empire (see District 65 below), and a gender vote for Carney could offset Weggeland's registration edge. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 65 (42% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Alice Robb of Yucca Valley. Republican: Incumbent Paul Woodruff of Forest Falls. Libertarian: Michael Geller of Moreno Valley.*

The scene of one of June's most bizarre election results: Alice Robb's stunning 20-point victory over Ray Strait in the Democratic primary. Strait is a well-known Democratic character, having run for the Legislature in past years. For the primary, he was endorsed by all local Democrats, by NOW and local labor unions. Robb, on the other hand, is an unknown who did not campaign, put up no signs, bought no radio ads, did not appear in the district anywhere and couldn't be found on election night. More important, she is a devotee of Lyndon LaRouche. She is, however, a woman, which offers about the only explanation for her victory over Strait. All this is by way of sideshow for November's main event, which pits the now-redoubtable Robb against two-term incumbent Paul Woodruff, a mover-and-shaker among Assembly Republicans. Woodruff beat back Banning Councilman Terry Holbert in the primary and now has about a trillion gazillion dollars to dump in against Robb, who has been officially repudiated by her own party because of her LaRouche connection. Political lightning struck Robb in the primary, and you know what they say about lightning. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 66 (35% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Patsy Hockersmith of Corona. Republican: Ray Haynes of Murrieta. Libertarian: Bill Reed of Perris. Peace and Freedom: Anne Wood of Fallbrook.*

When incumbent Republican Dave Kelley decided to run for the state Senate, he set off a Republican free-for-all that saw seven candidates brawl their way through the June primary. Fundamentalist Christian Ray Haynes emerged on top and should have little trouble fending off a November challenge from Patsy Hockersmith, a building inspector from Corona. Hockersmith ran well in defeating two other Democrats during the June primary, and the area has been more than kind to women candidates (see District 65 above). But overcoming an 18-point registration edge without your opponent being convicted of murder somewhere along the way is like trying to scale Mount Everest in thongs. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 67 (35% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Ken LeBlanc of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Doris Allen of Cypress. Libertarian: Brian Schar of Huntington Beach.*

An Orange County district that saw three incumbent Republicans slug it out for the GOP nomination in June. The winner: Doris Allen, a five-termer, who bested two male colleagues — Tom Mays of Huntington Beach and Nolan Frizzelle

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of Fountain Va ley. Frizzelle disappeared from the race e arly due to lack of money and a large deb left over from his abortive 1991 special-e ection campaign for the state Senate. That left the field to Mays and Allen. Although a Republican, Allen was helped immensely (read: dough, dough and mc re dough) by the usually Democrat-leaning California Teachers' Association She also was helped by area conservatives like Assemblyman Ross Johnson. A ten acious campaigner with a solid record on the environment and in education — two issues near and dear to these coastal Republicans — Allen eked out a 400-vote victory out of more than 43,000 cast on the GOP side. Democrat Ken LeBlanc hasn't a prayer of coming that close to Allen in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 68 (42% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Linda Rigney. Republican: Curt Pringle. Both of Garden Grove.*

Republican Curt Pringle put to rest the notion that his past political troubles might hinder a comeback. Pringle was elected to the Assembly back in 1988, but his campaign was severely criticized for its decision to hire uniformed guards to patrol polling p aces. Those guards, it was charged, challenged Hispanic-looking voters, intimidating some of them into not voting. Pringle's campaign subsequently was sued over the incident, settling out of court. In June, the conservative Pringle was challenged by two moderate women, both of whom are local elected officials. They made Pringle the issue, saying that his past record was an embarrassment to Orange County Republicans. But GOP voters disagreed, giving the primary to Pringle with 60 percent of the vote. Democrats had been making noise about targeting this district should Pringle win, but his strong showing may have dissuaded them. In addition, Democrat Linda Rigney is not regarded as a strong opponent. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Allen *Umberg*

DISTRICT 69 (50% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Umberg of Garden Grove. Republican: Jo Ellen Allen of Santa Ana. Libertarian: David Keller of Santa Ana.*

Democrat Tom Umberg is seeking his second term in the Legislature and faces conservative Jo Ellen Allen in November. Allen, president of the statewide Eagle Forum, is well known in the district thanks to a stint as a panelist on a local TV show called "Free for All." She defeated conservative activist Virgel Nickell in June and has a good fund-raising base among conservative groups. She'll also get plenty of help from Sacramento Republicans who will be making an all-out effort to capture control of the Assembly and feel they must take this district to make the dream come true. That, of course, will trigger a lot of financial help for Umberg from Assembly Democrats, who not only want to maintain their hold on the lower house but want to retain this inroad in otherwise Republican Orange County. Result: a two-sided target district and one expensive little send-up. Umberg is a moderate Democrat who appeals to Republicans. For example, he was the only Democrat to vote against the 1991 tax increase. And his previous campaign in 1990 against incumbent Curt Pringle (see District 68 above) was disrupted when his Army Reserve unit was activated during Desert Storm. Both sides have pursued active voter-registration drives and, in Allen's favor, the area voted for Pete Wilson in 1990. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 70 (29% D - 59% R) — *Democrat: Jim Toledano of Costa Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Gil Ferguson of Balboa Island. Libertarian: Scott Bieser of Costa Mesa.*

Jim Toledano is back, tilting at another Assembly windmill. In 1990 he lost to incumbent Republican Nolan Frizzelle in the old 69th District. But Toledano's chances were better in 1990; Republicans only had a 57 percent-32 percent registration edge. It's 60-29 this time around. This means that Republican Gil Ferguson, a one-of-a-kind legislator, will be back for his fifth term. (Incredibly) SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 71 (29% D - 60% R) — *Democrat: Bea Foster of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Mickey Conroy of Orange.*

Incumbent Mickey Conroy is seeking his first full term after having won a special election in 1991 to succeed Republican John Lewis, who was elected to the state Senate. This is the most Republican Assembly district in California. 'Nuf said. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 72 (32% D - 57% R) — *Democrat: Paul Garza Jr. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson. Libertarian: Geoffrey Braun. All of Fullerton.*

During debate over the long-delayed 1992-93 state budget, Republican Ross Johnson savaged the governor from his own party, Pete Wilson, calling Wilson "mean" rather than tough. Johnson, a conservative who wants to make government more efficient rather than cripple it, seems to be more frustrated and more angry the longer he remains in the Legislature. This fall, he'll be re-elected for his eighth term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 73 (30% D - 56% R) — *Democrat: Lee Walker of Laguna Niguel. Republican: Bill Morrow. Libertarian: Paul King. Peace and Freedom: Paul Steele. All of Oceanside.*

Split almost evenly between Orange and San Diego counties, the 73rd is another district that will send a freshman Republican to Sacramento — conservative Bill Morrow, who beat out seven other Republicans for the nomination. A gaggle of GOP legislators were involved in that primary, with Morrow receiving help from Senator Frank Hill and Assemblyman Ross Johnson. Assemblyman Gil Ferguson weighed in on behalf of Patricia Bates, while Governor Pete Wilson's minions backed Dana Point Mayor Mike Eggers. Morrow now can coast past college professor Lee Walker. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Kenneth Lanzer of Escondido. Republican: Incumbent Bob Frazee of Carlsbad. Libertarian: Ariel Mark Hunt. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Marcoux. Both of Vista.*

Incumbent Bob Frazee has been around the Assembly since 1978. Although no legislative dynamo, the 64-year-old lawmaker is well respected by colleagues on both sides of the aisle. But Frazee was roughed up in his own primary this past June when two opponents captured 43 percent of the vote. San Diego County voters have a propensity for roughing up incumbents, but Democrats in this district don't pack enough punch for a knockout. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 (31% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Dante Cosentino of Ramona. Republican: Jan Goldsmith of Poway. Green: Daniel Tarr of El Cajon. Libertarian: Johann Anderson of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Alfredo Felix of Spring Valley.*

Republican Jan Goldsmith won one rugged doozy of a primary in June, with his main antagonist being Connie Youngkin, a fervent anti-abortion activist making her third try for the Assembly. She lost two previous primaries to incumbent Tricia Hunter, who is running for re-election in the 80th District. In this primary, she fared no better. When the votes finally were tallied and despite months of two-fisted slugging between the two camps, the moderate Goldsmith, with 49 percent, won a surprisingly easy victory over the conservative Youngkin, who

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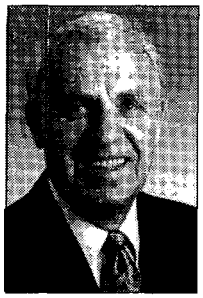
polled 28 percent. Two other GOP candidates split the remaining 23 percent. Governor Pete Wilson backed Goldsmith, an old San Diego ally. Take a seat, Mr. Goldsmith. SAFE REPUBLICAN



Daleke

Gotch

DISTRICT 76 (40% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Mike Gotch. Republican: Dick Daleke. Libertarian: Pat Wright. Peace and Freedom: Forest Worton. All of San Diego.*

This past June, in another of San Diego County's bruising primaries, former Naval pilot Dick Daleke, bolstered by such hard-right groups as gun owners and abortion foes, knocked off moderate Ronnie Delaney, who was backed by allies of Governor Pete Wilson. At the time, Democrats were delighted with Daleke's victory, sensing that their candidate — incumbent Mike Gotch, a former San Diego councilman — would have an easier time with an opponent from the far right. But that was before the Legislature's budget debacle cast a major pall over incumbents. District registration favors Republicans, who have targeted Gotch as one of the handful of Democratic lawmakers they must defeat if the GOP is to have any chance of controlling the Assembly. Democrats have put Gotch on their "protect at all costs" list but feel that the district is better now than two years ago because Gotch lost two San Diego neighborhoods that went for his opponent in 1990. In addition, they feel, the broader base of San Diego voters is much more moderate than the organized conservative factions that gave Daleke his primary win. Still, GOP registration is a hill to overcome, and Gotch does not enjoy the one factor that has helped other Democrats win in Republican districts: gender. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 77 (39% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Thomas Connolly III of Lemon Grove. Republican: Steve Baldwin of El Cajon. Libertarian: Jeffrey Bishop of La Mesa. Peace and Freedom: Reed Kroopkin of El Cajon.*

Republican Steve Baldwin cut his political teeth running campaigns for the Christian right, and all that accrued expertise served him well in his primary fight last June with Greg Cox, the former mayor

Baldwin

Connolly

of Chula Vista, who had the backing of Governor Pete Wilson and a $200,000 war chest. The showdown between Wilson forces and the hard-right, anti-abortion, anti-tax and gun-owner groups backing Baldwin resulted in one of the governor's more embarrassing political losses, given that it happened in his back yard of San Diego County and to one of his allies. Registration would indicate that Baldwin's toughest fight was with Cox. But Baldwin's strength in June — his hard-right views — also may be his weakness come November, and Democrat Tom Connolly may be laying the groundwork for an ambush. First, it was Connolly — not Baldwin — who gained the endorsement of the traditionally Republican San Diego Association of Realtors. Connolly also has the nod of the local Sierra Club, which normally does not back non-member candidates. In addition, Connolly has gained the endorsement of the National Rifle Association and the California Pistol and Rifle Association, thus cutting into one of Baldwin's main pillars of support — gun owners. Also, Connolly is contrasting his and Baldwin's military records to the district's large number of retired military. (Connolly is an Army combat veteran of Vietnam who did a later stint as a Marine Corps lawyer; Baldwin did not serve.) At the outset, Connolly has been hampered by a lack of money. He's raised about $20,000 but needs 10 times that much to run a credible campaign against the well-heeled Baldwin, who can call on a wide range of conservative donors. Connolly's hope is that Sacramento Democrats will ply him with large and timely amounts of cash. They won't make a move, however, unless Connolly is within striking distance by mid-October. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 78 (38% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Deirdre Alpert of Coronado. Republican: Jeff Marston. Peace and Freedom: Sally O'Brien. Both of San Diego.*

One look at the registration figures, and you're prompted to say, "So long, Deirdre." But two years ago, incumbent Deirdre Alpert won in a district (the old 75th) with *worse* Democratic registration, and against an incumbent Republican. Of course, that incumbent was Sunny

Alpert

Marston

Mojonnier, who'd committed more errors that the Los Angeles Dodgers' infield in trying to win her fifth term. Alpert's opponent this time around doesn't have Mojonnier's considerable baggage. Republican Jeff Marston is a former assemblyman who served briefly in 1990 after winning a special election to replace Democrat Lucy Killea, who had moved to the Senate. Marston defeated Democrat Mike Gotch in that special, then lost to Gotch in the general election several months later. Marston is a moderate who defeated a hard-right opponent, Dan Van Tiegham, in the June primary. And his fall victory is imperative if Republicans are going to gain control of the Assembly in 1992. The GOP has no chance to win 41 seats if it cannot capture a district with such a dominating Republican registration edge. So, not surprisingly, they've targeted it. Democrats, of course, are not ceding this seat to the GOP, thus setting the stage for yet another expensive and hard-fought Assembly in San Diego County (see District 76 above) Alpert is a very popular incumbent who has worked her district hard since her election in 1990, and Democrats refer to her as another Lucy Killea, the popular San Diegan who kept confounding Republicans in races for the Assembly and Senate. Of course, even the hugely popular Killea opted to become an independent this year. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 79 (56% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace of Chula Vista. Republican: Paul Silva-Martinez of San Diego. Libertarian: James Train of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Eduardo Prud-Home of Chula Vista.*

This is the only San Diego County Assembly district where Democrats hold a clear edge. It is also a district where white voters are in a distinct minority; half the district is Latino, 16 percent is Black and 11 percent is Asian. To wrest the district from five-term incumbent Steve Peace, Republican Paul Silva-Martinez must accomplish two goals — get the district's sizeable Latino population to the polls, and get them to vote Republican. Both tasks are daunting. Latinos do not vote in large numbers, and when they do vote, they tend to favor Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

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DISTRICT 80 (45% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Julie Borenstein. Republican: Incumbent Tricia Hunter. Both of Palm Desert.*

Political life has been one election nightmare after another for incumbent Tricia Hunter. In 1988 and 1990 she survived rugged primary battles with anti-abortion activist Connie Youngkin that focused on Hunter's pro-choice philosophy. In the June primary, she was roughed up by another abortion foe, David Dhillon, who ran a personal attack campaign that distorted Hunter's record and her status on a *California Journal* survey that ranked legislators. Hunter defeated Dhillon and two other GOP candidates, but it was less than a resounding mandate as she managed only 45 percent of the vote. Although registration figures indicate that the 80th should be a Republican district, Hunter

Borenstein

Hunter

is bogged down by some baggage. First, she is an incumbent. Should voters be in the mood to exact punishment for the long budget delay, the sting could help send Hunter out of office. Second, she is a carpetbagger to half of the district. Hunter's old 76th District stretched across eastern San Diego County and the desert regions of southern Riverside County. Hunter herself lived in Escondido, which is now part of the new 75th District, and she had to move to Palm Desert in Riverside County to be in the 80th. All of Imperial County and the bulk of Riverside County are virgin territory for Hunter. Thus, Democrats have targeted this district, hoping to knock off Hunter as a hedge against losing other close races in San Diego. Their candidate, attorney Julie Borenstein, is a long-time area resident who has been prowling the district since February in search of support. Her early efforts helped persuade incumbent Democrat Steve Clute to abandon his re-election bid. Clute, from Riverside, had seen his old 68th District shattered into three parts by reapportionment, and he decided to move into the friendliest piece — the 80th — to run. But he bowed out well before the primary, leaving the field to Borenstein. LEANS REPUBLICAN

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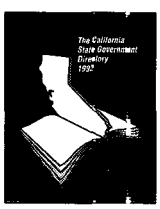

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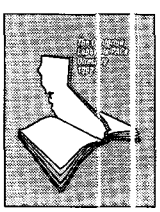

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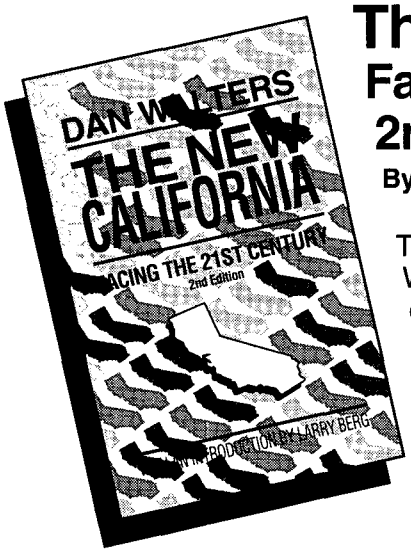

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(finally) the 1992-93 Budget

Wilsonian Economics: Pain all around

by Linda Dailey Paulson

Draconian. Machiavellian. These are rhetorical labels affixed to the 1992-93 state budget. But in the end, the state's $57.4-billion spending document was mostly Wilsonian. It was Governor Pete Wilson who ultimately dictated its terms, despite efforts of legislative Democrats to craft a budget more to their liking. The resulting squabble led to the longest budget delay in state history — 65 days.

The budget was supposed to be signed and in place on July 1st. It was finally signed during the first week of September. In between those two dates lay months of politicking both behind closed doors and in the media. Balancing the state ledgers was made so difficult because the state was taking in a lot less money than it expected to spend; projected revenues were down due to a sagging economy while the number of people relying on the state — people needing an education, health care or a stay in state prison — was on the increase. As a result, a gap appeared — a gap that widened to a chasm as the buget process progressed.

To close that gap, Wilson and Republican legislators announced early and clearly that the budget could not contain new taxes or a rollover of debt from one budget year to the next, the latter position bolstered by a clause in the state Constitution that says the governor must submit a balanced budget. And although there was early grumbling, legislative Democrats quickly capitulated. This was, after all, an election year. The agreement by both sides not to raise taxes or carry debt into 1993-94 created what has been called a "zero-sum" budget. In other words, if one program — say, hot lunches for poor school children — is to be given more

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Linda Dailey Paulson is a freelance writer from Sacramento.

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money, some other program must lose an equal amount of dollars. Thus, the battle lines became drawn over spending priorities. And with two-thirds votes required in each house of the Legislature (54 in the Assembly, 27 in the Senate) to pass a budget, a minority of lawmakers could monkey-wrench the entire process.

In the end, few programs went unscathed in efforts to close a revenue-spending gap that seemed to increase weekly as California's economy sank even deeper into recession. Only the Department of Corrections received no decrease over last year from the general fund. Higher education took the largest hit. Funding to public colleges and universities was reduced by 9 percent from the previous year, a situation that would have been worse had student fees not been increased.

In the end, the state had no choice but to cut deeply into education and health programs. After all, these two areas, along with prisons, account for all but 10 percent of total state general fund expenses.

Grade Schools and Community Colleges

Of those programs, K-14 education takes the largest chunk from the coffers; it is also the program lawmakers most loathe to cut. Spending per-student was kept at 1991-92 levels, but the methods used to accomplish that goal, given increases in the number of school-aged children, is complicated. To achieve savings, the base amount of K-12 education funding was reduced in the new budget. As a result of that reduction, the amount of funding required by Proposition 98 also decreased. This means that in future years, education will receive less money that it might have expected. In addition, there were no adjustments for inflation in this year's budget. That means that school districts, many of which have already contracted with teachers for salary increases, for example, will have to make cuts just to stay even.

Higher education

Higher education lost big: a 9 percent, or $360 million, reduction and a corresponding increase in student fees. At the University of California, that meant $550 per student per year; at the California State University system, it meant $372 per year. At community colleges, where the budget is lumped in with K-12 funding, students with an undergraduate degree were assessed $50 per unit, while other students' fees were raised by $4 per unit. Meanwhile, services given students suffered, including courses no longer offered, standing-room only in lecture halls and long lines at registration tables. Some educators fear that an estimated 160,000 to 250,000 students barely able to pay tuition now will be forced out of school and into an already crowded job market. To compound problems further, $44 million was eliminated from student aid available to residents.

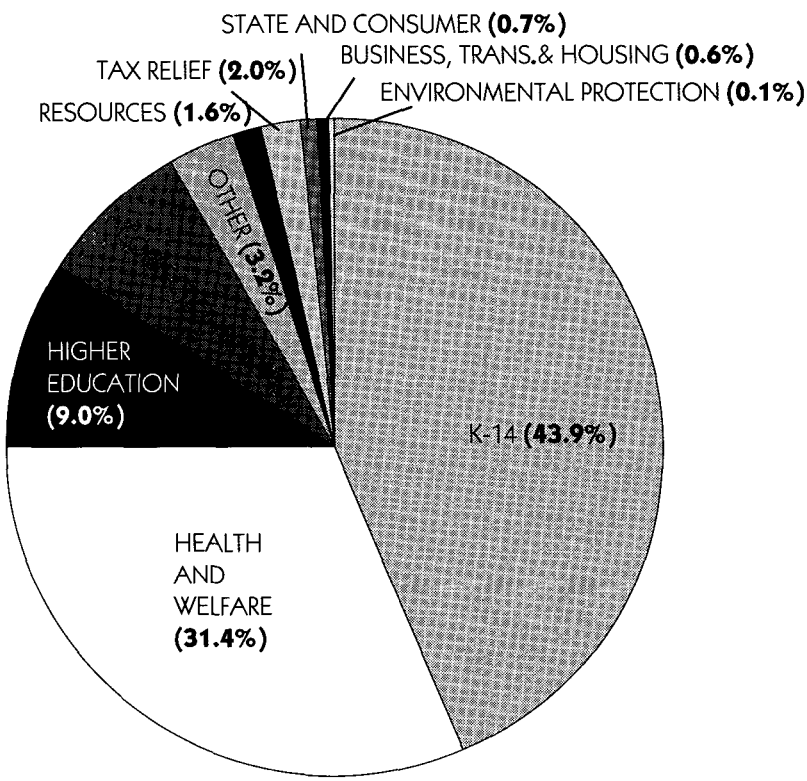
Health and welfare

Reductions in health and welfare spending were drastic as well. MediCal cuts of $360.5 million and social services cuts of $613.1 million were achieved by reducing grants to those receiving welfare and to aged, blind and disabled receiving supplemental income.

MediCal will rely on expansion of the "managed care" concept similar to the fixed-fee structure found in health-maintenance organizations and prepaid health plans, to save $76.5 million. Plus, the method through which those receiving MediCal get prescriptions filled will limit drug costs to the state. Also, eligibility requirements were changed so that illegal immigrants and undocumented workers will be without health care — unless it's an emergency.

A cut of about 5.8 percent to welfare families with dependent children includes holding new residents to the welfare grant level they were getting in the state where they previously lived, unless it's more than California gives.

An estimated million aged, blind and disabled Californians, many of them unable to work, receive some sort of aid through SSI/SSP. Instead of receiving $645 per month in assistance, the amount will be pared to $608. Too, health-care providers will be hurt if they haven't felt the effects of the budget crisis already because the number of hours in



GENERAL FUND EXPENDITURES 1992-93

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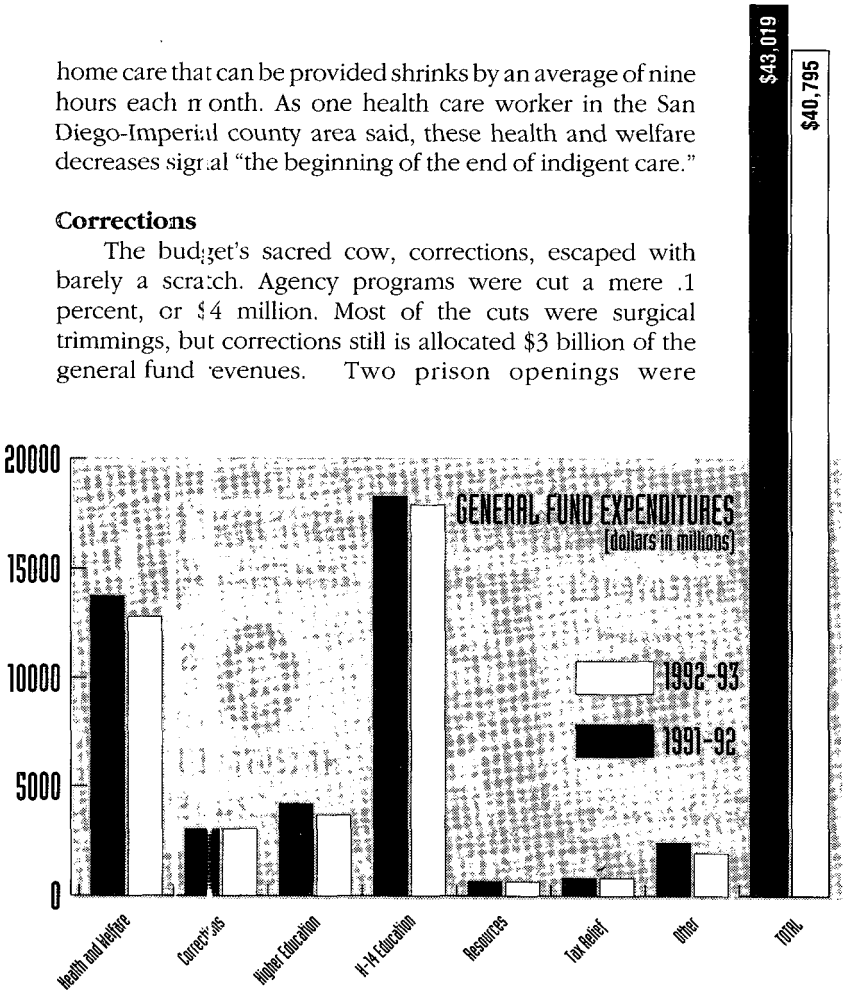
home care that can be provided shrinks by an average of nine hours each month. As one health care worker in the San Diego-Imperial county area said, these health and welfare decreases signal "the beginning of the end of indigent care."

Corrections

The budget's sacred cow, corrections, escaped with barely a scratch. Agency programs were cut a mere .1 percent, or $4 million. Most of the cuts were surgical trimmings, but corrections still is allocated $3 billion of the general fund revenues. Two prison openings were pushed back a year, accounting for a "savings" of $62.5 million — among the most substantial of the cuts. Much of the tightening came through elimination of mid-management positions, increased case loads and reduction of departments. Elimination of $135 million in trial-court funding — a shift that was supposed to provide financial relief to counties — and other reforms in the judiciary are expected to save the state an estimated $242 million in 1992-93.



Local government

Lawmakers ended up agreeing that cities, counties and special districts should take a hit that totals $1.3 billion. But Republicans held out for one of their pet projects from the past decade — easing back on programs that the state insists counties undertake but that the state does not pay for (state mandates), such as reporting requirements for substance-abuse programs. Cuts also eliminated 47 boards and commissions, plus funding for similar organizations.

Much of the decrease in local government funding is connected to property tax-cutting Proposition 13, passed by voters in 1978. That measure destroyed local government's funding base. At the time, the state sat on a huge multi-billion dollar surplus and it used that money to help ease the sudden financial burden on cities and counties — the so-called "bail out" of local government. The bail-out was supposed to be temporary, but it has gone on year after year. Now, however, the state does not have the resources to continue easing the impacts of Proposition 13, and most of the aid was withdrawn. To wean them, counties and special districts were granted additional powers to collect fees.

These measures provide no real relief as angry taxpayers continue to see services dwindle. Orange County residents' streets will be cleaned less often and programs for developmentally disabled children cut. Most city and county offices also will have to reduce staff, meaning added time to process permits, cuts in animal shelter programs or park closures. In some parts of the state, the cuts are expected to be deep enough to reach fire and police services, usually the last to be reduced.

Libraries appear to be among the most expendable of services and the cuts most bitterly opposed. Sacramento Country residents have been particularly angered by shrinking hours of operation and services. Closing of a Folsom library prompted a rally and groups have been collecting signatures in an effort to secure the fate of the remainder of that public library system. Other systems have reported or threatened similar closures or reductions in staffing or hours of operation.

"Everybody is a loser in this budget resolution," a spokesman for Speaker Willie Brown recently told *The Sacramento Bee*. "Probably two to three months from now, the people of California are going to realize how horrible this dilemma was and how difficult it was to come to closure. They may be longing for the good ol' days of the budget stalemate."

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Family values and the GOP

Getting "government off the backs of the American people" was the central credo of the conservatism that Ronald Reagan spawned in sunny, optimistic California and exported to the rest of the nation. Along with staunch and militaristic anti-Communism, Reagan's enduring theme was an assault on the federal government as too big, too intrusive and too costly to taxpayers. It was the essentially libertarian argument that Americans, and American businesses, would thrive if simply left to their own ingenious devices.

BUT REAGAN BECAME CALIFORNIA'S GOVERNOR during the turbulent '60s, and his credo also included government as the sometimes intrusive defender of the social order and of traditional values against an onslaught of protests, feminism, drugs, sex and rock 'n roll.

Reagan never tried very hard to reconcile the seemingly contradictory strains of *laissez-faire* tolerance and stern moralism in his own philosophy: Recall that his strong statement of opposition was instrumental in defeating the 1978 ballot initiative that called for the firing of gay teachers.

The sheer magnetism of Reagan's personality and the warmth of his crinkly smile served as the "big tent" enfolding all the competing interests of modern conservatism, from sophisticated CEOs seeking tax cuts to raw-edged fundamentalists of the religious right. Now, Reagan is in retirement, and the strains and stresses are all too obvious.

With the economy mired in a slump, President George Bush has vaguely promised another round of Reaganesque tax cuts but must campaign on the defensive when it comes to the fundamental issue of economic well-being. And with the threat of the Cold War gone, Bush can only get so much mileage out of his image as a firm and steady commander-in-chief.

Instead, we have seen an emphasis on Bush as First Grandfather, protecting the national family from the bad influences of libertine Hollywood, teen sex and gay marriages. The not-at-all subtle GOP subplot: If this campaign is about protecting traditional home-and-hearth virtues, voters can't rely on "slick" Democrat Bill Clinton (the Republicans don't even need to mention his purported affairs) and his feminist wife, Hillary.

Vice President Dan Quayle led this line of attack with his sharp criticism earlier this year of TV's fictional "Murphy Brown" for glamorizing the role of unwed mother. It was a good way to pick a fight with the "elite" culture of Hollywood and the Big Media, (even if it was off-base to assault the liberal Murphy for her solid Republican decision to have a baby rather than an abortion.)

As the Republican convention began in Houston in August, party chairman Rich Bond unloaded on Hillary Clinton, portraying her as a radical lawyer who believes children should be able to sue their parents rather than do their chores and who has compared marriage to slavery. The attack was based on a willful misreading of articles she had written years ago, but it underscored unease among some voters over the prospect of a feminist first lady with strong views and a personal agenda of issues.

Marilyn Quayle, evidently nostalgic for the cultural war of the '60s (and eager to imply the Clintons were on the enemy's side), told the convention, "Not everyone demonstrated, dropped out, took drugs, joined in the sexual revolution or dodged the draft."

And Pat Buchanan, former White House speechwriter turned Bush primary rival, roared back from political defeat and major heart surgery with a full-scale assault on "the amoral idea that gay and lesbian couples should have the same standing in law as married men and women." He said of the Democrats' gathering, "A militant leader of the homosexual rights movement could rise at that convention and say, 'Bill Clinton and Al Gore represent the most pro-lesbian and pro-gay ticket in history.' And so they do."

But this effort to make "family values" into decisive, divisive wedge issues had its risks.

One was that a majority of today's electorate could feel excluded from the married, anti-abortion, fundamentalist Christian, mom-at-home family portrayed as the norm at the convention. Just ask Bush friend and chief campaign fundraiser Robert Mosbacher, whose lesbian daughter and her lover live happily in San Francisco.

It was left to Barbara Bush — beloved for her no-nonsense appearance and grandmotherly in her white hair and fake pearls — to put a positive, inclusive spin on the "family values" theme.

Shortly before the Houston convention, she told reporters that she saw abortion as a private matter that didn't even belong in the party's platform. At the convention, she coupled a warm testimonial for her husband ("the strongest, the most decent, the most caring, the wisest — and yes — the healthiest man I know") with praise of single parents and working moms. "However you define the family, that's what we mean by family values," she said, expanding the term well beyond the "Ozzie and Harriet" model and in the process making it so vague as to be meaningless.

ANOTHER RISK OF THE GOP's "family values" pitch was that voters might resent it as an attempted diversion from their pocketbook concerns. That may be why by Labor Day, Republican officials were putting out word that "family values" would be only one weapon in their rhetorical arsenal and a rather tame one at that.

"I especially reject the notion that discussing this issue is intended to divide Americans from one another, or to imply that some families are superior to others," Quayle said. "Family values is neither meaningless nor mean-spirited."

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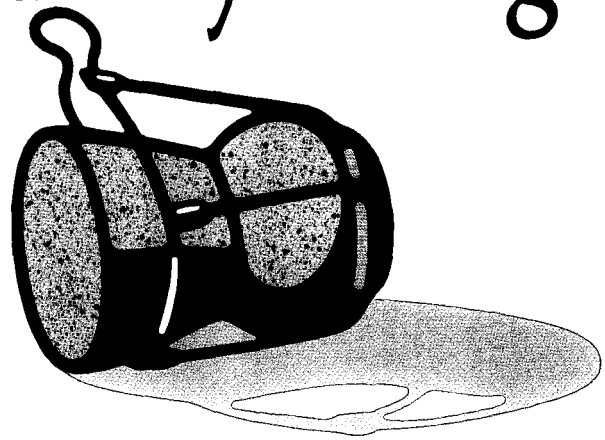

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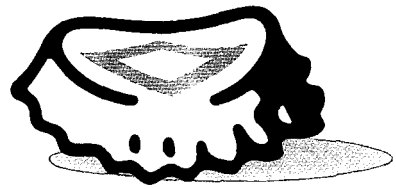

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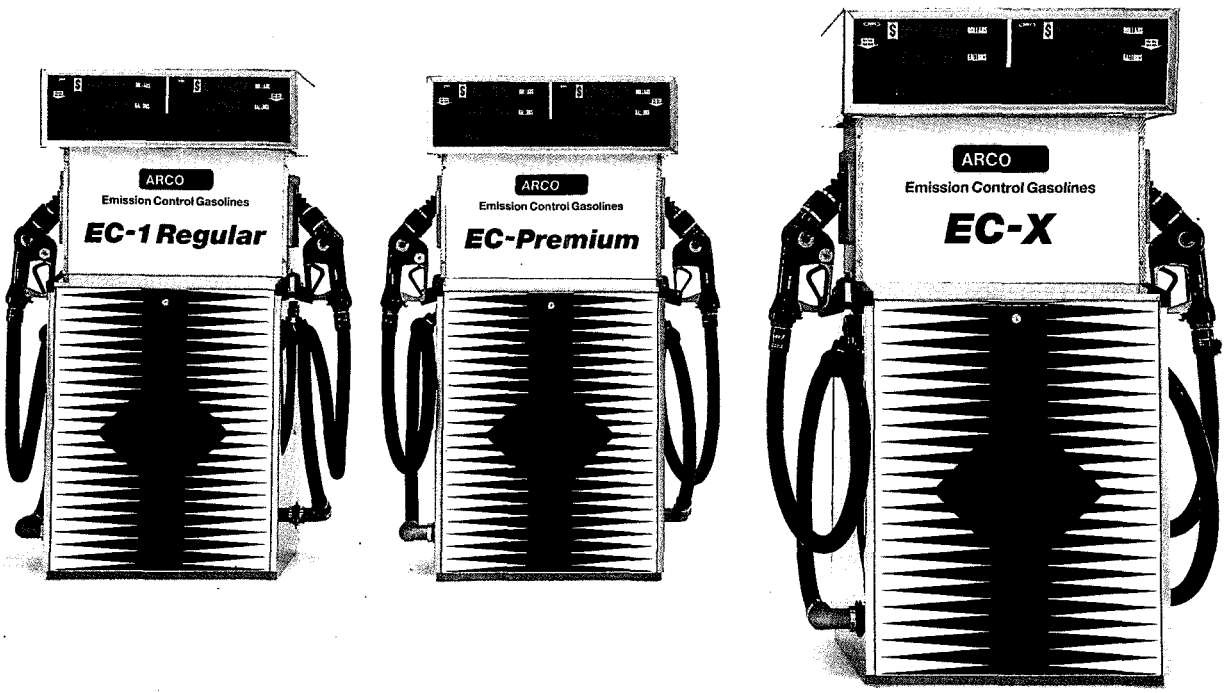

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